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Living papers concerning Christian evidences, doctrine and morals.

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THE CHURCH ON THE WAY

LIVING PAPERS

(SIXTY)

LIVING PAPERS

CONCERNING

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES, DOCTRINE, AND MORALS.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

FROM the commencement of the Series it has always been intended to include the discussion of doctrinal subjects in a positive form, in a manner fitted to meet the doubts and difficulties of unsettled minds within the Church of Christ, and to confirm believers. The first contribution to this branch of the Present Day Tracts appears in this volume. It is from the pen of the Rev. W. Arthur, and treats of "The Divinity of Our Lord in Relation to His Work of Atonement." An important addition to the Series has been made by Professor Sayce, "The Witness of Ancient Monuments to the Old Testament Scriptures." Mr. Arthur and Professor Sayce appear as contributors for the first time. Professor Blaikie, Professor J. Radford Thomson, Dr. Murray Mitchell, and Sir William Muir deal with "The Adaptation of Bible Religion to the Needs and Nature of Man," "Modern Pessimism," "The Hindu Religion," and "The Lord's Supper, an Abiding Witness to the Death of Christ:" the first a felicitous application of the argument from design; the second exposes the absurdity and inadequacy of the prevalent Pessimist philosophy of life, and the disastrous consequences that would result from its universal adoption. The third sketches the history and characteristics of Hinduism, and contrasts it with Christianity. The last

surveys the liturgical and historical evidence of the universal and continuous observance of the Lord's Supper in Christendom, and founds a conclusive argument for its institution by Christ at the time and in the manner described in the Gospels on the facts. It points out also the evidence incidentally afforded by it to the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ.

In variety of contents, in interest and ability, this sixth volume yields to none of its predecessors. The Society have reason to be thankful for the support the public have given them in this important enterprize, and the many proofs of the usefulness of the Series that have come to their knowledge. They regard these only as samples of cases much more numerous, of which they never hear. The grateful acknowledgments of the Society are due to the distinguished writers who have given such ready assistance to them in carrying out the undertaking.

The present Volume closes the first Series of the Tracts. The second Series will be commenced (D.V.) in the Autumn, and will further carry out the plan set forth in the Preface to the first Volume. It will be the aim and earnest endeavour of the Society to work out that plan in all its branches, so as to merit and secure the continued confidence and support of the Christian public, and secure the ends they had in view in entering on this work.

April, 1885.

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THE ADAPTATION OF BIBLE RELIGION TO THE NEEDS AND NATURE OF MAN

BY THE

REV. W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D.

Argument of the Tract.

THIS Tract is an application of the design argument to the religion of the Bible. It proceeds on the assumption that the Bible unfolds a Divine provision, having for its purpose to remedy all the evils which sin has entailed upon man. The question discussed is, whether this provision is found in practice to be really adapted to its object? Does it really remedy the evils introduced by sin? In answer to this question, attention is directed in the first instance to the primary evil caused by sin, namely, separation from God, involving to man the sense of guilt, liability to punishment, moral disorder of his soul, and emptiness and desolation as regards his spiritual nature. The Tract endeavours to show that the provisions of grace, as unfolded in the Bible, are adapted to meet all these evils, and do actually meet them. Having thus shown that the religion of the Bible is adapted to remove the chief evils entailed by sin, the Tract proceeds to show that it is not less adapted to remedy certain minor disorders affecting the other parts of man's nature. It is affirmed that the Bible shows a due regard for man's *bodily*, his *intellectual*, and his *social* nature; and the Tract enters into a variety of particulars under each of these heads to make good the position. Thus the religion of the Bible proves to be a highly successful instance of design; and from this a strong practical argument arises on behalf of its Divine origin.

THE

ADAPTATION OF BIBLE RELIGION

TO THE

NEEDS AND NATURE OF MAN.

Introductory.

Adaptation a mark of God's works.

SKILFUL adaptation to their purpose is so constant a feature of the works of God, that we naturally look for it in every product of the Divine hand. If the human eye is wonderfully adapted to the purpose of vision; if the backbone, with its remarkable combination of properties—firm as a pillar, flexible as a chain, light in point of weight, and graceful in form—is a triumph of skilful adaptation; if the family constitution is an unrivalled contrivance for securing unity, affection, mutual help, and kindred virtues,—we may be sure that any scheme devised by God for promoting the spiritual and eternal welfare of men will exhibit remarkable features of adaptation to its purpose. Let there be a clear perception of the purpose on the one hand, and a competent knowledge of the scheme on the other,

and the adaptation of the one to the other will follow as a matter of course.

The great problem of revelation to remove sin and its effects.

The great problem which any true revelation must solve is, how to remove sin and its consequences. It is here that natural religion fails. Sin has created a gulf between man and God; it has disordered man's moral nature; it has compelled God, notwithstanding His infinite compassion, to hold him a criminal, with whom friendly fellowship is impossible. The great purpose of revelation is to solve this problem. It unfolds a divine plan designed to take away sin, reconcile God and the sinner, restore moral health to man's soul, and thus fit him anew for the ends for which he was formed. Is this scheme really adapted to its end? Is the remedy suited to the disease? When Naaman washes in this Jordan is he really cleansed? In a word, is there a divine adaptation between the provision of the Gospel, and the purpose for which it has been devised?

Chiefly to reconcile God and man.

Subordinate fruits of sin likewise affected by the Gospel.

We have said that one of the chief effects of sin is to create a schism between God and man, and break up the friendly relation which would otherwise unite them. If the remedy be adapted to the disease, this is the chief evil for which it will provide a cure. But besides this effect of sin, it has infected man's whole nature, and disturbed more or less the whole operations of his being. It has shewn its influence very powerfully in his

social relations, creating great discord between man and man, where harmony is so desirable. If the remedy be in all respects adequate, it must have a healing and elevating influence in all these directions; it must purify and regulate all the springs of activity; it must sanctify and brighten all the lawful pursuits of life; it must sweeten the relations of man to his fellow men; it may not all at once, even in a metaphorical sense, cause the wolf to dwell with the lamb, but it must create a movement toward that consummation—toward that restored golden age when they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain.

Object of the Tract.

We propose therefore in the present tract to consider the adaptation to this result of the plan of recovery for sinners, as unfolded in the Gospel and recorded in the Scripture. In doing so, we shall consider, I., Its *primary* or chief adaptation, *i.e.*, its adaptation to the case of man as a guilty and polluted being before God; and II., Its *subordinate* adaptations—its adaptations to the physical, intellectual, and social nature of man,—its power to counteract the effects of sin in these departments, and thus, in all directions, redeem and elevate mankind. We assume that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the authorized records of the divine plan, and it is to them, therefore, that we go for information as to what the features of that plan really are.

Adaptations to be considered.

I.

Adaptation to the Spiritual Needs of Man.

The experimental argument.

In demonstrating the adaptation of the salvation of the Bible to the spiritual needs of man, considerable stress must be laid, in the first instance, on the consciousness of man himself. Inquiry must be made into the nature of his *experience* when he cordially receives the divine remedy, that is, when he cordially accepts Christ as his Saviour, and relies on Him for all the blessings of salvation. The sense of adaptation which comes to him between his own need and the remedy provided in the Gospel constitutes what has been called the *experimental* evidence; but to some this evidence has appeared not to be of a very solid or satisfactory nature. It has seemed too visionary and ideal, too near the region of dreams, too dependent on a heated imagination; in short, it has appeared to want that solid character which evidence on so vital a subject ought above all to possess. For this objection there might be valid reason if it were proposed to rely on a very limited body of experience —let us say, the experience of a single individual. But no one would base the argument on what might possibly be the vagaries of a single mind. The experimental argument is valid only if it express the result of a wide induction of cases, an induction

Its solidity.

so wide as fairly to represent the ordinary experience of those who cordially and earnestly receive Christ as Saviour. Moreover, it must be taken in connexion with the whole body of *external* evidence, the evidence of miracle and prophecy, the character of Christ, and the spirit of the Gospel. Flanked by these bulwarks, the experimental evidence will be found to be of great interest and of much use.

It must be taken in connexion with other evidences.

The argument from the adaptation of the Gospel to the spiritual needs of man will come out more clearly if we specify some of these needs, and consider the manner in which the Gospel meets them.

1. Chief of these needs is *reconciliation to God.* And prominent among the blessings that attend the hearty reception of Christ is the conscious possession of reconciliation. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. v. 1). The expressions in common use in reference to this process are such as denote the end of a great mental conflict, the finding of a secret treasure, the removal of an oppressive burden, the dawn of a glorious day after the anxieties and terror of a weary night. How full the records of Christianity, inspired and uninspired, are of such experiences need not be said. Perhaps the most striking feature of the change that took place on the day of Pentecost, and at similar times, was the sense

The Gospel brings about reconciliation.

The heart that believes is satisfied.

of intense relief, the feeling of profound satisfaction that filled and charmed the soul. The experience was so complete that no doubt remained whether or not it was the true remedy that had been received.

Proofs ancient and modern.

No pagan who went to the cross, and believed on the Crucified One, ever returned home to balance arguments between the sacrifice of Christ, and the devices of propitiation which Paganism proposed. The same thing may be said of pagans now. When once the Gospel is spiritually received by a Hindu, no question remains as to whether a pilgrimage to Delhi, or an act of penance before the car of Juggernauth, would not be more efficacious than faith in Christ. The sense of oneness with Him seems to solve all questions and remove all fears. The feet rest on the rock, and the new song of praise for sin forgiven, for grace bestowed, for the promise of all needful blessing bursts from the grateful heart. Nothing could express the process better than the words just quoted, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God."

Luther.

Conspicuous cases of the same experience occur through all Church history. Luther's case is remarkable. Before his time the "easy, artless, unencumbered plan" of the Scriptures had been perverted into one of "the complex works of man." Divine grace and human merit had been rolled together, and the effect of the one had been neutralized to a large extent by the presence of

the other. By a flash from heaven Luther apprehended the divine way of grace, and the peace which he had in vain sought for years descended into his soul. John Bunyan was another of the distinguished men whose burden, as he has symbolized it in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, fell from his shoulders when he came to the cross of Christ. Chalmers had a struggle similar to Luther's, and for a whole year of intense moral effort struggled to come up to the requirements of the moral law; but in spite of all, he felt its heights more inaccessible than ever, while his own corruption seemed only to acquire new power. It was only when he truly accepted the truth of gratuitous salvation by Christ that peace came into his bosom; but once he rested on that foundation, he never had the slightest distrust of it, never felt a desire for any other security, or any other channel for the reception of heavenly blessings.

Bunyan.

Chalmers.

So far as the consciousness of those who have tried the remedy can testify in its favour, the evidence is complete. But besides this, reflexion on the nature of the Gospel provision confirms belief in its adaptation to the purpose in view. The great want in all other plans of reconciliation is the want of a propitiation of value sufficient to atone for sin. On the other hand, that which at once and conclusively commends the plan of the Gospel is the glorious sufficiency of the propitiation. The

Nature of the process

Sufficiency of the propitiation.

precious blood of Christ is abundantly sufficient to cancel the guilt of man. The awakened conscience feels both that a propitiation is needed, and that the propitiation must be adequate to the offence. It is in vain to tell the guilty conscience that God is merciful, or even that God is a father, and that His heart beats with a father's goodwill. What can such things do when one's own conscience loudly demands retribution for one's sins? The feeling that there must be a satisfaction to justice is simply overpowering. Was not David Absalom's father? Was not David's heart full of a father's compassion, nay, was he not subject to a weakness in that very region,—a weakness on which Absalom might well count in his favour? Yet when Absalom slew Amnon, he could not meet his father, he could not remain at Jerusalem, it behoved him to flee to Geshur. All his father's affection could not save him. How can we count on the Almighty disregarding the claims of justice in a way in which even David could not disregard them? How vain the attempt to find a place of security on the shaking sides and flaming heights of Sinai! A propitiation must be found to give the sinner confidence before a holy God. And of all possible or conceivable propitiations one only possesses the needful quality—"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!" Even though the revelation in Scripture of the evil

The conscience is not easily satisfied.

of sin far exceeds all that the natural conscience teaches, the sufficiency of the propitiation of the Gospel is in no degree impaired; rather it comes out the more clearly the more fully the demands of the law are tabulated; for the very glory of the divine method is that "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound" (Rom. v. 20).

The Gospel provision satisfies.

2. Another of the soul's spiritual needs is—*renovation.* Our moral nature is disordered, and one of the chief evidences of disorder is the conflict between duty and inclination. Conscience and the will are not at one. We may form beautiful ideals, but we cannot realize them. Desires which are known to be poor and mean often prevail in us against the voice of conscience and even the protests of reason. And often the state of things is worse than that of a conflict in which the bad usually gets the better of the good. In many, the result is a state of helpless captivity. In these cases, lusts of the body rise to sovereign power, and crush down in ignominious bondage every good and wholesome desire. Men and women are degraded far below the level of brutes. In the grip of imperious lusts they are powerless, struggle as they may. Where the outward degradation is not so great, the triumph of evil is not so conspicuous; but that evil reigns is often lamentably apparent, even to the persons themselves. Often their lives are governed by a selfishness that, regardless of

The Gospel brings renovation.

The great need of it.

Our helplessness.

others, seeks to secure everything for themselves. The will of God, which they know to be the true sovereign authority of the world, is little regarded, except in so far as the ordinary usages of society may happen to agree with it. Their lives do not conform to any noble standard. And even at the very best, there is such a discord between what they are inclined to do and what they ought to do, that their highest achievements in duty are but the result of a hard struggle—not the free spontaneous movements of souls delighting in the ways of truth and righteousness.

Gospel renovation lays hold of the affections,

For this great need of the human soul, likewise, the Gospel has its provision. It is a provision which embraces the whole nature, but its chief peculiarity is that it lays hold on the affections. It creates a personal attachment between the sinner and the Saviour who died for him. It impresses the heart with a profound sense of the kindness and love shown by Jesus in suffering, the just for the unjust, to bring them to God. This attachment to Christ acts sympathetically on

And the will.

the will, causing it to turn from all that is offensive to Christ, to all that is well-pleasing in His sight. Nor is this change caused by the action of our own powers. The Holy Spirit, the

Offices of the Spirit.

third Person of the Godhead, has entered the soul, and His office is to convert and elevate it; to raise conscience from the dust, and restore it to its

throne; to bring conscience and will into harmony; in a word, to renew the whole nature after the image of Him who created it. Revelations are made by the Spirit of divine truth and human duty, towards which the soul is moved. A higher ideal than any that the human mind ever devised is placed before the eyes—the perfect example of the Lord Jesus Christ. Experience of the sweetness of divine fellowship strengthens every motive to a life of faith and holiness. Prayers like that of Paul for the Ephesians indicate the infinite fulness of the stores out of which the soul may seek its supplies: "For this cause, I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God" (Ephesians iii. 14–19).

Extent and high standard of the renewal.

In regard to renovation as to reconciliation, experience shows that this Gospel provision is so superior to any other, that once it is apprehended the soul is satisfied of its efficacy, and never turns from it in search of another. Putting on the Lord Jesus

This provision also satisfies

Christ was St. Augustine's introduction at once to inward peace and satisfaction, and to the secret of a holy life. In receiving Christ as their personal Saviour, both Luther and Chalmers found a power capable of overcoming all the unruly motions of their hearts. And in all ages of the Church and in all ranks of life, personal attachment to Jesus Christ has been found by far the most efficient means of mortifying the flesh, conquering the world, crushing selfishness, and nurturing philanthropy. Obedience acquires a new character when it springs from love, and especially such love as Christ inspires; nor is any sacrifice too great or any attainment too lofty when it may be said of us, We live, yet not we, but Christ liveth in us; and the life that we live in the flesh we live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved us and gave Himself for us (Gal. ii. 20).

The power of personal attachment to Christ.

3. This leads us to notice another of the spiritual needs of the soul—*Divine fellowship*. Man, by his very constitution, is dependent on God. He cannot reach the perfection of his nature or the maturity of his powers without the nurturing, expanding, developing influence of God. He depends on God as really and as much as the earth depends on the sun. There can hardly be conceived a body less complete in itself, or more dependent on another body, than this earth. What would it be without the sun? A poor, opaque ball without light, or

The Gospel provides Divine fellowship.

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heat, or colour; perpetual night brooding over land and sea, mountain and valley; perpetual frost binding all its waters, and making life impossible on its surface. Such, too, must man be without God. And so we find that even in his disordered state, and while his controversy with God is not yet ended, man vaguely thirsts after Him. He desires to be nearer the great Being in whom he lives, and moves, and has his being. Like a traveller that has heard vaguely from natives of some great lake or river that determines the aspect of the country he is exploring, and is constantly trying to reach it, so man desires to get nearer to God, on whom all the problems of life and all the aspirations of the soul depend. This feeling is indeed balanced by another—by man's shrinking from God, and endeavouring to hide from Him, like Adam among the trees of the garden. Conscious guilt inspires terror; but it does not quite subdue the natural feeling of dependence, and the natural desire to know more of God. There must be a chief good somewhere, and where can it be but in God? There must be something to satisfy the soul, to answer its high aspirations. There must be a Being who can teach, and correct, and guide it, and bring it up to the highest enjoyment of which it is capable. On such a Being the thoughtful soul yearns. What provision does the Gospel make for the satisfaction of this need?

Man without God like earth without the sun.

Chief good found in God.

Loving relations with God.

The Gospel not only reveals God in Christ as providing reconciliation and renovation, but likewise as entering into the closest and most loving relations with all who accept His offers and believe on His Son. The reality and the intimacy of this communion were beautifully shadowed forth by the incarnation of God's Son. In the person of Christ, the nature of God and the nature of man met to constitute a single personality. No more wonderful proof could have been given of God's purpose that the fellowship between God and man, in the economy of grace, should be of the most intimate kind. Under the provisions of the Gospel the natural relation of creatures to a creator is supplemented by relations greatly higher. God is now the Father of His children; and so far as the difference between the finite and the infinite allows, they are on the same footing with Him as children are with an earthly father. Sometimes the relation is expressed by the figure of a spouse, the figure that denotes the closest and tenderest of all human ties. Derived from other objects, we have such figures as that of the shepherd in reference to his flock, the vine to the branches, and the members of the body to the head. But the Divine Person with whom these close relations are formed in the first instance, is not He who dwells in light inaccessible and full of glory. "The Word was made flesh, and *dwelt among us;*" and though

Figures: Sons—Spouse—Shepherd—Vine.

The incarnation of THE WORD.

"no man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." Our fellowship with the Father is through the Son, through Him who was "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh." No better link of connexion could be conceived than that furnished by Him who is Son of God and Son of man in one: on the one side, the brother of humanity; on the other side, the fellow of the Everlasting God.

It is impossible even to touch on all that comes to the earnest believing heart from this restored fellowship with God. We simply note a few outstanding points. Fruits of fellowship.

(*a*) *Transformation into God's likeness.* By a law of our nature we imitate those in whose company we often are; and the more we admire and love them, the more do we thus imitate. So hearts that are much in fellowship with God, through Jesus Christ, become assimilated to Him. "We all," says the Apostle, "with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory even as by the Spirit of the Lord." Transformation.

(*b*) *Invigoration of our spiritual life.* Like all living things which do not contain the spring of vitality in themselves, our spiritual life decays and languishes if it be not sustained by regular communion with the Fountain of living waters. Fel- Invigoration of spiritual life.

lowship with God sustains faith, courage, humility, unselfish love, patience, meekness, and all the other qualities of the renovated nature. They that wait on the Lord renew their strength: they mount up with wings as eagles; they run and are not weary, and they walk and are not faint. (Isa. xl. 31).

Support and consolation.

(*c*) *Support amid toils, and consolation under trials.* Strong men may rejoice to run a race, and the glory of young men is their strength. But as years roll on and strength becomes impaired, constant toil comes to be oppressive, and the call for patience and perseverance is not easily responded to. Even in the very dew of youth, many turn from a life of hard toil, and dally with carnal pleasure, let the cost be what it may. And if toil protracted to the very close of life, with little relaxation and much monotony, be hard to bear, much more intolerable is the burden of disappointment, anxiety, and pain. It is not easy to fight one's way through care, opposition, perplexity, and endless worries. It is not easy to bear the loss of fortune and friends, or of health and happiness. The blows that fall on the human heart are often fearfully severe. It was surely not meant that man should have to bear all these things in loneliness and helplessness. In nature, we find that in the neighbourhood of stinging plants, other plants grow whose juices neutralize the sting. Is it the

Man not designed to bear in loneliness and helplessness.

sad lot of man to bear the sharpest and most irritating of all stings apart from the possibility of relief and succour? Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?

Toil and trouble mitigated

For this very touching and terrible want of his nature, fellowship with God furnishes the blessed remedy. In many ways it sweetens the bitter waters of life. Hard toil becomes easier to bear when it is felt to be part of the discipline arranged for us by a loving Father; when, instead of some austere and heartless taskmaster, we feel that our service is done to the Lord. Patience and perseverance become easier when life is measured by eternity, and at the close of its brief hour, there is the sure prospect of unending rest and peace.

God's promises

Burdens are more easy to bear when the promise is realized, "Cast thy burden on the Lord, and He shall sustain thee" (Psa. lv. 22). Trusting in Him who clothes the lilies and feeds the ravens, saves the heart from many a visitation of distracting care. No feature of our religion is more blessed or more remarkable than its provision of comfort in overwhelming trial. "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee" (Isa. xliii. 2). "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will

fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me.

Satisfaction and rest.

(*d*) *Satisfaction and rest of soul.* No higher or better portion can even be conceived than that which comes to us by Christ. Our relation to God is the closest that can be. Our inheritance is the best and the largest—"The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance, and of my cup" (Psa. xvi. 5). Our difficulty lies in realizing all to which we receive a claim. The smallness of our capacity, the stiffness of our faculties, the dullness of our hearts, the worldliness of our feelings, may all distress us, but not the smallness of our heritage. That heritage leaves no reasonable desire unsatisfied. While others sigh that all is vanity and vexation of spirit, the hearts of God's children delight themselves in fatness. Others are jaded and weary: they renew their youth like the eagle. Others feel that there is nothing worth having: they say, "Whom have I in heaven but Thee, and there is none on the earth that I desire beside Thee; my heart and my flesh faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever" (Psa. lxxiii. 25, 26).

Enjoyment in nature and life.

(*e*) *New enjoyment in nature and in life.* Nature has a new aspect and a new interest for those who know God, and love Him as their Friend and Father. It is not only the work of His hands, it is the utterance of His mind and the revelation of His heart. Its mountains are symbols of the stability

the other. By a flash from heaven Luther apprehended the divine way of grace, and the peace which he had in vain sought for years descended into his soul. John Bunyan was another of the distinguished men whose burden, as he has symbolized it in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, fell from his shoulders when he came to the cross of Christ. Chalmers had a struggle similar to Luther's, and for a whole year of intense moral effort struggled to come up to the requirements of the moral law; but in spite of all, he felt its heights more inaccessible than ever, while his own corruption seemed only to acquire new power. It was only when he truly accepted the truth of gratuitous salvation by Christ that peace came into his bosom; but once he rested on that foundation, he never had the slightest distrust of it, never felt a desire for any other security, or any other channel for the reception of heavenly blessings.

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So far as the consciousness of those who have tried the remedy can testify in its favour, the evidence is complete. But besides this, reflexion on the nature of the Gospel provision confirms belief in its adaptation to the purpose in view. The great want in all other plans of reconciliation is the want of a propitiation of value sufficient to atone for sin. On the other hand, that which at once and conclusively commends the plan of the Gospel is the glorious sufficiency of the propitiation. The

Nature of the process

spirit, and not merely in form, is truly hallowed. The ladder between earth and heaven, on which the angels of God ascend and descend, is a glorious possession in any house. To have a means of communication with the Heavenly Father, by which every want, every care, every sorrow and trial may be carried to His ear, and by which the answer may come down in contributions of wisdom and strength, of patience and trust, of peace and joy and hope, is a privilege of priceless value. When we think too how prayer re-acts on the soul, lifting it up to heaven in the very exercise, placing it at the throne of grace, bringing it into the very presence of the living God, we may understand something of its marvellous influence. Nothing is more striking than its tranquillizing power, however great the tempest that may have swept over the soul.

The reflex influence of prayer.

Its tranquillizing effect.

"Lord, what a change within us one short hour
Spent in Thy presence will prevail to make!
What heavy burdens from our bosom take!
What parch'd lands refresh as with a shower!
We kneel, and all around us seems to lower;
We rise, and all, the distant and the near,
Stands forth in sunny outline, brave and clear.
We kneel how weak, we rise how full of power;
Why therefore should we do ourselves this wrong
That we are ever overborne with care?
That we should ever weak or heartless be,
Anxious or troubled, when with us is prayer,
And joy and strength and courage are with Thee?"

TRENCH.

4. We add a fourth spiritual need of man's soul for which provision is made under the Christian scheme—*human fellowship in the service and enjoyment of God.* Our nature is social; and however necessary it is to recruit the springs of spiritual life by personal communion with our Father who seeth in secret, we are greatly dependent on the fellowship of our brethen for help and stimulus, for guidance and encouragement in the service of God. Under the Old Testament there were the great yearly festivals, when faces were brightened and hearts cheered by the companionship of friends without number, assembled to worship the God of Israel. Under the New Testament, we have the Christian Church, with its organization of ordinances and its spirit of brotherhood, its meetings for common worship, and its methods of united work. We have that great society, nearly nineteen centuries old, in which we are united to the great and good of all times and lands. We are compassed about by an exceeding great cloud of witnesses, whose past attainments rouse us from our apathy, and set before us a right noble goal. We get the benefit of the varied gifts and graces which are specially bestowed on some members of the Church, in order that others may share the edification which they are fitted to promote. We share the joy of common blessings, and the distress of common trials. Our hearts are enlarged by

The Gospel provides human fellowship in the service of God.

The Christian Church.

Its benefits.

sympathy for our brethren ; and in watering others, we are watered ourselves. We get work to engage in which draws out our energies, which constrains us to be partners with God, which offers a reward beyond all earthly recompense, which beareth fruit unto life eternal. We get a brotherhood to love, and to love us in turn ; we find congenial friends whose kindness brightens our path in the life that now is, as it helps us on toward that which is to come. In a word, we come to Mount Zion, and the city of the living God; to the general assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and with them we enjoy all the more the fellowship of God the Judge of all, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and of Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the New Covenant, and the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel (Heb. xii. 22–24).

Fellow-workers with God.

Such are some of the provisions of the Gospel for the needs of man's spiritual nature. Let us say regarding them that they are as much realities of human experience as any other phenomena that appeal to the inner nature of man. They no more belong to the region of dreams or shadows than do these other phenomena. Is it a reality of my inner experience that when I am frustrated in my fondest hopes, when I am baffled in my strongest efforts, when I am deprived of my most prized treasure, my heart is agitated, I feel a sting of pain? Then

These blessings are realities.

it is not less a reality of my experience that when I am able to believe that all this is appointed for me by a loving Father, and is part of the discipline by which He prepares me for the very highest blessings I can know, the pain is relieved, the sharpness of the sting is removed, my soul returns to a state of rest. Must I draw a line between these experiences; and while the one remains a hard and indubitable reality, must I concede that the other is but the baseless fabric of a vision? It were gross absurdity to do so, and it were unreasonable in any one to ask that it be done. As well might you tell one that the sting of a nettle is a reality, but that the soothing influence of the juice of the dock is a mere dream of the imagination. In the physical world both are equally realities. And in the spiritual world, while the disorder and terror and weariness and woefulness of human life cannot be denied, as little can it be fairly questioned that even in the midst of trial, faith in God as revealed in Christ brings order, satisfaction, strength, comfort, and serenity of soul; enables one to rise above the region of disturbance, and on the serene heights of hope, to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

The remedy as much a reality as the evil.

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

II.

Subordinate Adaptations.

In proceeding to point out some of the subordinate adaptations of our religion to the nature of man, we must bear in mind that being subordinate, they cannot be expected to occupy in the Word of God that place of prominence which belongs to the primary purpose of revelation. It cannot be too emphatically insisted on that that purpose, as we have just seen, is the restoration of fallen man to the favour, the likeness, and the fellowship of God. If the Bible had not had this for its great object, it would have had no sufficient *raison d'être ;* nor need we be surprised that those who do not regard it as given for this end, perceive no sufficient ground for the high claims that are advanced on its behalf. But it is not fair to judge it as if its great object had been to give a scientific record of the construction of the material world, or to present a philosophical theory of the universe, and of all things human and divine ; or to settle the principles of political government, or the laws of social well-being. To do so would be as foolish as to judge of a watch for some other property than its capacity to keep time, or of a rifle for some other feature than its power to carry a bullet to

Secondary place of subordinate adaptations.

the mark. Evidently a book given for one grand purpose must be judged of mainly by its capacity to realize that purpose. The Bible, designed to reveal to man the way of life, must be judged of mainly by its adaptation to that end.

Author of the Bible also Author of human nature.

But at the same time it is reasonable to believe that if the Author of our religion be also the Former of our nature, proofs will be found in the contents of the Bible of many subordinate adaptations to that nature. The simple fact that both are from the same source would justify this expectation. In addition to this, we are to bear in mind that the whole nature of man has suffered from sin, and that the healing influence of the remedy may be expected to be as comprehensive as the disastrous influence of the disease. Our relation to God, once it is restored, cannot but have a beneficent influence on the other relations we were designed to sustain. The flying off of a planet from its orbit must damage all its internal economies; its return to its orbit must tend to rectify them. We are now to show how Christianity, besides rectifying man's relation to God, bears beneficially on his other relations and interests; and though the points which we select may not be very conclusive separately, the sum of them will be found to constitute an argument of no insignificant strength.

Extent of the remedial appliances.

1. *Adaptation to Man's Bodily Nature.*

Bodily nature.

In a sense, the Bible teaches us to think lightly of our body. "Fear not them that kill the body; but fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matt. x. 28). But evidently it is in a comparative sense that this estimate of the body is made; it is as if it had been said, to save the body at the expense of your soul is like saving your coat at the expense of your skin, or saving a jewel case at the expense of the jewel. "I buffet my body," says St. Paul, "and bring it into bondage; lest by any means, after that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected." (1 Cor. ix. 27, R.V.) The body, according to his figure, was prone to be presumptuous, and to crave a consideration and tenderness of treatment that interfered with far higher interests and claims. The apostle deemed the presumption intolerable; he buffeted his body as some men did their slaves, to teach it its own place, and not suffer it to trample on what was infinitely more precious than itself.

Body a servant, but cared for as such.

But while the Bible is most particular to allot to the body its own place of subordination, it manifests no small measure of regard for it in that place as a part of the nature of man.

1. Thus, in the first place, it regards it *as a*

divine work, well fitted to fill us with admiration and gratitude towards its great Author. "I am fearfully and wonderfully made," says the Psalmist (Psa. cxxxix. 14); and to justify the remark he sets forth at some length the marvels of the process by which the embryo in the womb is advanced to the wonderful structure of the human frame. Each organ of the body is the work of the divine hand—"He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye, shall He not see?" (Ps. xciv. 9.) So likewise the whole plan of the body the adjustment of organ to organ is a divine work. "If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole body were an ear, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased Him" (1 Cor. xii. 17). A structure like the body, on which God has bestowed so much pains, cannot but be worthy of our care. This is the very opposite of the Manichæan doctrine, that the body is the work of the Evil One, or that it has been hopelessly corrupted by evil influences. It is not to be destroyed, but kept under; just as the imagination is to be kept under the sway of reason; just as any lawful desire is to be kept under the control of conscience. Its place is the place of a servant; in that place it deserves all due consideration; but never, on any pretext whatever is it to be allowed the place of master.

The body regarded as a Divine work.

In what sense it is to be kept under.

The body healed by Christ.

2. Regard for the welfare of the body was shown by our Lord *in His miracles of healing,* and other mighty works. By far the greater part of His miracles were directed to restore the functions of the body. Blindness, deafness, lameness, paralysis, leprosy, fever, were tokens of bodily disturbance and disorder; and the power of Christ was employed to remove the disorder, and to make the sufferers "whole." In the wilderness He had respect for the hungry multitude, and (though He had not done it for Himself under Satan's temptation), He provided food miraculously to assuage their bodily craving. The evil spirits which He cast out were odious to Him, for besides perverting the soul from its highest functions, they destroyed the very instincts of the body, driving some of their victims now into the fire and now into the water. In the symbolical language of Scripture, the highest spiritual blessings find appropriate emblems in connexion with the body: Jesus is the Shepherd who tends and feeds us, and the Physician who heals us; He supplies the bread of life and the water of life, as Moses in the wilderness procured the manna from heaven, and the water from the rock; and in such a book as the Song of Solomon, according to the generally received view, the highest style of physical beauty is employed as a symbol of that moral excellency that marks Him as the chief among ten thousand.

3. Higher than this, however, is the degree of respect accorded to the body in the Bible, when it is represented as "*a member of Christ.*" That mystical union of believers to Christ, which is so instructive an emblem of the manner in which we share His spiritual benefits, embraces the body as well as the soul. He is the Head of the body, of which they are the members. "Know ye not," says the apostle, "that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid" (1 Cor. vi. 15). For a Christian to pollute his body with sensual sin is to degrade and dishonour a part of Christ. Instead of a trifling offence, it is a horrible transgression.

The body a member of Christ.

4. Similar is the view in those passages where the members of the body are represented as in a sense *subjects of sanctification,* and servants of righteousness. "I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. v. 23). "Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield . . . your members as instruments of righteousness unto God" (Rom. vi. 13). "Let us draw near with a true heart, . . . having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water" (Heb. x. 22). If it be asked, How can the body become a subject of sanctification? Is not

The body a subject of sanctification.

the seat of sin in the heart, in the will, not in the flesh? Undoubtedly; and the reclaiming of the members of the body from the service of sin to the service of righteousness is a spiritual process. Nevertheless, the expressions in question may find justification if we consider the law of *bodily habit.* What is done often by the organs of the body comes to be done readily, almost unconsciously and mechanically. The profane swearer utters his vile words almost unconsciously; the organs of speech seem instinctively to frame the customary sounds. A sanctified body, on the other hand, is one in which, by the law of habit, all the powers and organs adapt themselves readily to the purposes of righteousness. A body thus trained is more worthy of honour than a body habituated to the ways of evil; in seeking to effect this change, the Bible honours the body.

The body a temple of the Holy Ghost.

5. A still higher step seems to be taken in Scripture when the body is set forth as the *temple of the Holy Ghost*, so that to defile it is a sacrilege, a shameful dishonouring of a holy shrine. In reality it is the same view that is conveyed by this figure as by that which represents the Christian's body as a member of Christ. But in the figure of the temple, the idea is perhaps more imposing; it is associated with what of all material things seems to be purest, and most deserving to be preserved in purity—a temple; and with the Person who, by

reason of His purity and purifying function, enjoys *par excellence* the title of Holy—the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Ghost.

The resurrection of the body.

6. Lastly, the Bible doctrine of *the resurrection* serves to elevate our respect for the body. Even in the grave it is guarded and consecrated by Christ. Bereaved friends may rear fences and place beautiful monuments, or scatter flowers and immortelles at the resting-places of their dead; but such tokens of respect for the ashes of the departed are trifling compared to the honour paid to it by Christ. "Thy dead men shall live, together with My dead body shall they arise."[1] (Isa. xxvi. 19.) "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. xv. 42–44). "He shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself" (Phil. iii. 21).

No lack of regard for the body in the Bible.

Thus, whoever they may be who speak slightingly of the body, as if regard for its welfare were unbecoming or unworthy of Christians, it is not from the Bible that they take their cue. Nor is the

[1] Translated by Lowth: "Thy dead shall live; My deceased, they shall arise."
By Delitszch: "Thy dead will live; My corpses rise again."
By Cheyne: "Thy dead shall live; My dead bodies shall arise."

Christian minister fully discharging his duty who does not take pains on suitable occasions to urge regard for bodily welfare, and attention to the principles which serve to advance it; subject always to the condition, that its claims are not paramount but subordinate, and that its place in the economy of human life is not to rule, but to serve.

II. *Adaptation to Man's Intellectual Nature.*

If there were nothing else in our religion fitted to advance our intellectual nature, the great topics with which the Bible is conversant, when taken up earnestly by men, could not fail to bear fruit in this region. God, man, sin, punishment, redemption, propitiation, duty, grace, free-will, infinity, eternity, are fitted, above all other topics, to exercise and strengthen our intellectual powers. Minds occupied with such topics become stronger and deeper; and in grappling with matters too great, in their fullest reach, for their faculties, are led to stretch these faculties to the furthest limit of their power. Of this reflex influence of the grand truths of religion on our intellectual nature we will not say more, as our present subject is the *subordinate* adaptations of the Bible—adaptations more or less apart from its great fundamental purpose. In this restricted sense, we may note

Religion a great intellectual gymnastic.

1. *The recognition of Nature in the Bible.* We mean, nature as a fit subject for intellectual exercise, abounding in phenomena that invite investigation, and in spiritual influences, worthy of appreciation and rich in beneficial effect. The interest, beauty, and glory of nature are often set before us in Scripture. "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein" (Psa. cxi. 2). Our respect is claimed for Solomon, in that "he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." The whole book of Job encourages and adapts itself to an admiring love of nature,—a calmly intellectual, a gently emotional study of its wonders, including not merely the furniture of our globe, but also the starry heavens. The Psalms and the Prophets present nature to us in her more ideal aspects—the sun as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, the clouds as Jehovah's chariot, the winds His messengers, the heavens the curtains of His abode. The psalm of the seven thunders, as it has been called—the 29th—represents the various effects of a thunderstorm as utterances of the voice of Jehovah. The apostle finds a very comforting doctrine of theology in the saddest tones of nature —he hears creation groaning; but her groans are not the pains of death, but the pains of birth—the throes and convulsions through which she is giving birth to the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteous-

Recognition of nature in the Bible.

Examples.

Ideal aspects of nature presented in the Psalms and Prophets.

ness (Rom. viii. 22, 23). The same apostle finds in the process by which a grain of wheat passes into a state of dissolution, to reappear in a fuller form of life, an emblem of the resurrection of the body. Among the last of the emblems of the Bible are those in which gold and precious stones and pearls are used to represent the glories of the New Jerusalem.

Symbolism of nature.

Bible recognition of poetry and art.

2. The Bible has a benignant aspect toward music, poetry, and the fine arts generally. Music indeed has received the highest consecration in its pages. The harp of David is associated with the holiest fellowship of the soul with God. The union of many voices in song was one of the chief features of that vision of heavenly things and places which John had in Patmos. No Hallelujah Chorus on earth has ever reached the dimensions or the thrilling power of that which the apostle heard, sung by ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands.

Poetry.

A vein of poetry runs through the Bible, and some of its finest parts are altogether poetical. We have didactic poetry in Job, lyric in the Psalms, idyllic in the Song of Solomon, descriptive in Isaiah, allegorical in parables like the Prodigal Son, dramatic in the Apocalypse. The study of the Bible is eminently fitted to give a poetical turn to the mind. It leaves its poetical impress alike on high and low. Dante, Spenser, Milton, Klop-

stock drew their highest inspiration from it, and to many other poets it has suggested their finest thoughts. More remarkable, perhaps, is the poetic cast which the Bible gives to common minds. Poetical views of life, as presented in the Bible,—on the one hand, the conflicts of the world, the storms of trial, the wanderings in this weary wilderness; and on the other, the unseen protector, the final victory, the everlasting glory,—have not only taken possession of myriads of devout minds in common life, but have served materially to blunt the edge of pain, to transform the present, and to brighten the future. There are few hearts that are not thrilled by that simple melody:—

Poetry of the common mind.

> "O God of Bethel! by whose hand
> Thy people still are fed,
> Who, through this weary pilgrimage,
> Hast all our fathers led."

In the days of American slavery it was observed that the favourite hymns and songs of the devout negroes borrowed the poetical vein of the Bible, whether they bore on the overthrow of the oppressor, or on the land of rest and peace that awaited the oppressed. If it be one of the highest functions of poetry to bring down through the imagination some rays of brightness to touch up the dreary ways of common life, it must be owned that in this respect the poetry of the Bible has a pre-eminent place.

Favourite hymns and songs of devout negro slaves.

Architecture.

We find nothing in the Bible that bears directly on painting as a fine art. But architecture has a conspicuous place. The temple of Solomon is an object of no small interest, and the minuteness with which its dimensions and other structural features are specified, invests it with peculiar importance. Ezekiel's description of the restored temple indicates the architectural mind. And in the New Testament, though no temple is seen in the New Jerusalem, yet the symmetry, the proportions, and the materials of the city convey the notion of an imposing architecture. In the Bible we are past that period when stateliness of form and beauty of structure have not begun to be thought of; but we are equally far from the time when they are thought of beyond everything else. Whatever importance belongs to them is wholly subordinate: they are nothing, and less than nothing, unless they are subordinate to the great heavenly Temple which is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner-stone.

Bible recognition of science and philosophy.

3. In regard to the bearing of the Bible on science and philosophy, it is true that when these words occur, they are used in a bad sense: science is "science falsely so-called;" and "philosophy" is coupled with vain deceit. But the word rendered science[1] is more correctly

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 20.

rendered "knowledge" in the Revised Version; and the philosophy denounced was a way of philosophizing which was not the handmaid but the rival of the Gospel. The whole style of speculation in those times tended either to corrupt Christianity or to discredit it altogether. Men of scientific and philosophic habit, owning the claims of Christianity as a revelation from heaven, and placing themselves like little children at the feet of Jesus, though not unknown, were far from common. At the same time, it is easy to show that there is nothing in the Bible opposed to science and philosophy in their due place and legitimate purpose. On the contrary, it is certain that the Bible, rightly understood, fosters those habits of mind which lie at the foundation of science and philosophy, namely, a love of order and a spirit of investigation. The Bible quickens the faculties that apprehend abstract truth, and the relations of truth, and furnishes them, as we have seen, with a noble field for exercise. The doctrines of sound philosophy often run parallel to the doctrines of theology. Men can hardly devote themselves to the deeper truths of Scripture without getting on the rails of philosophy. The danger is lest they travel on them too far, and forget that however desirable it may be for certain reasons to get at common principles in order to explain phenomena, natural and spiritual, the great glory of the Gospel lies in its being a simple message—

Corruptions condemned.

The Bible quickens the true organs of science and philosophy.

Yet the Gospel is a simple message.

almost level to the capacity of a child. "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son" (1 John v. 11).

III. *Adaptation to Man's Social Nature.*

1. Conspicuous under this head is the place in the Bible of the institution which lies at the base of all social prosperity—The Family. In the Old Testament much is made of the family. In the Ark of Noah, the eight souls saved were a single household. The lives of the patriarchs abound in beautiful glimpses of family life. The filial submission of Isaac; the attachment of Jacob and Rachel; the brotherly forgiveness of Joseph; the noble self-sacrifice of Judah; the beautiful scene at Jacob's death-bed; the exquisite attachment of Ruth and Naomi; the passionate grief of David for Absalom; the loyalty of the Rechabites to their father,—such things, though not unmixed with evil, show how under the Old Testament the family was often the nursery of a singularly pure and beautiful affection. But the New Testament furnishes the ripest and purest pattern of family life. Banishing polygamy, the Gospel promotes that concentration of affection between man and wife, which is the foundation of family unity and attachment. Elevating woman from the place of a slave or subordinate to be the helpmeet

The family in the Old Testament.

The New Testament furnishes the highest pattern of family life.

of man, it encourages the outflow of all that tenderness of heart which fills the home with sunshine and beauty. The case of Jesus and Mary throws a beautiful halo round the relation of son and mother. Adding the bond of grace to that of nature, Christianity creates a new and closer tie, teaching members of families to long for each other's welfare with yearnings inexpressibly strong. But in this direction the Christian Church has even yet before her a path of almost unbounded progress. Instances of family life of the highest type are not too common, nor can Spitta's eulogy be pronounced over all :

Scope for progress.

> "O happy house ! O home supremely blest !
> Where Thou, Lord Jesus Christ, art entertained
> As the most welcome and beloved guest,
> With true devotion and with love unfeigned
> Where all hearts beat in unison with Thine,
> Where eyes grow brighter as they look on Thee,
> Where all are ready, at the slightest sign,
> To do Thy will, and do it heartily."

2. The Bible explicitly and strongly recognizes The State. The State. Civil government indeed is placed on the highest and firmest basis which it is possible for it to occupy—it is consecrated by a Divine Charter. The consecration does not extend necessarily to particular forms of government, nor to the individuals who may be in possession : it rather has to do with the institution itself. It is not merely as a matter of "social contract" that we

Its Divine charter.

are to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; we are to do so "for conscience sake." The strong sanction thus given to civil government operates in two ways,—on the side of the rulers and on the side of the ruled. On the side of the rulers, it furnishes a strong motive to just and careful rule, since the sword in their hands has been entrusted to them by God, and ought therefore to be used with a high regard to His will. On the side of the ruled, it supplies a sacred motive to obedience, a motive fed from the deepest fountain of spiritual life. On this basis, a barrier is erected against despotism on the one side, and disorder on the other. Before the eye of the rulers there is set the highest model of a just and beneficent rule—the rule of Him of whom it was said, "He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgment. . . . He shall deliver the needy when He crieth, the poor also, and him that hath no helper" (Psa. lxxii. 2, 12). No higher principle of law was ever laid down than the Bible rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Here we have the germ of a whole code. And more than that, the Gospel guides us to the spirit which alone can secure the end of laws: it gives our neighbour a place in our hearts, for it fills us with longings for his highest good.

Benefits of this recognition.

3. The Bible recognizes many of *the more subordinate conditions of man's social well-being.*

Subordinate conditions of social well-being.

For illustration of this remark we turn, first of all, to the law of Moses. The social provisions of that law were numerous, varied, and most beneficial. By the general partition of landed property, and its return at the jubilee to the original owners, the citizens received a substantial stake in the community, and a powerful inducement to industry and diligence. The evils of monotony and over toil were checked by the interspersion of frequent holidays with the days of labour; but as most of these holidays were associated with religious service, the tendency to frivolity and dissipation was effectually met. The whole nation was raised to a high moral and intellectual platform by a system, real if not formal, of universal education, in which instruction in God's law held the highest place, and all the lofty and inspiring memories of the past were brought to bear on the young mind at most susceptible period. Each family was stimulated to self-respect by the careful preservation of its genealogy; incidental cases of poverty were provided with genial alleviations; and the certain prospect of regaining its position within fifty years was held out to every down-broken family. Attention was given to the laws of health through the ceremonial cleansings that were enjoined, applicable both to the person and to the dwelling; for the symbolical, the spiritual, and the sanitary went hand in hand. Never

Provisions of the Mosaic Law.

Means of national elevation.

Family stimulus to self-respect.

Attention to laws of health.

in any constitution, ancient or modern, was so careful provision made for the social department of national welfare: seldom indeed has any express provision been made for it at all. It was doubtless in some degree a fruit of the unexampled excellence of their social system that long after the Hebrew commonwealth was overthrown, the Jewish people continued to possess such extraordinary vitality, and to be marked, so much above other nations, for industry, intelligence, and economy. Alexander the Great found them the best class of colonists for his new cities. Long after the destruction of Jerusalem, beggars, properly speaking, except those afflicted with illness, were unknown in Palestine, and are still little known among the Jews. And the average length of life is to this day greater among the Jews than in other communities. In the social department of life, subordinate though it is, the influence for good of the Mosaic legislation is apparent to this day.[1]

Social effects.

New Testament sociology.

If now we pass from the Old Testament to the New, we remark that though the latter contains no express social legislation, it silently lays the foundation of social benefits of the highest order. It has been well said by Vinet: "Jesus Christ instituted little, but inspired much." Sometimes it has been made a charge against our Lord that He

[1] See Michaelis' *Commentaries;* Wines on the *Laws of the Hebrews;* Edersheim's *History of the Jewish People.*

did not denounce slavery, vile and cruel as the system was under the Romans. But our Lord made it a rule not to denounce directly the social abominations that swarmed around Him. If He had bent His energies in this way, He would only have been putting new patches upon old garments. What our Lord did was to form a new society,—the Christian Church—a society, penetrated by His own spirit of love and goodness, in which He was to live and move, making all things new. He sent forth a spirit that could not fraternize with slavery, nor with the fashionable amusements of the theatre and the circus, nor with the loose *abandon* of fashionable life. The faith that was to overcome the world would overcome its social corruptions too; and the atmosphere which it bred, while it stifled all the offspring of pagan or worldly selfishness, would foster all that was just and generous, lovely, and of good report.

Social corruptions not directly assailed.

A new society founded.

The truth of these remarks will become more apparent if we briefly note the bearing of the Gospel, first on social rights; second, on social duties; and third, on social graces.

Social rights under the Gospel.

1. Social Rights. Perhaps the most convenient formula of social right is the French trilogy—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. These three things are held to be essential conditions of human life. Let us mark how quietly yet effectively the Gospel provides for them in its own way.

Liberty.

Liberty. Under Christ we are bought with a price—His precious blood—and thus we become His property. But He does not treat us as slaves, but as sons; we are not children of the bondwoman, but children of the free. We are δοῦλοι (bondmen) yet ἐλεύθεροι (free). But the relation in which we stand to Christ is incompatible with the claim of any man to hold us in slavery. No man is entitled in the sight of God to come between my soul and the Saviour who has redeemed it. I have become a member of Christ; who shall hold a member of Christ in bondage? If Paul as a Roman citizen claimed the privileges of a free man, how much more may a member of Christ? This, we say, is the peculiar ground on which the Gospel vindicates our freedom. The Bible does not discuss the question of natural right. That question stands on its own ground. But the Gospel establishes a relation between Christ and every believing man which is simply incompatible with slavery. Slavery and other social corruptions vanish before it, like the mist on the mountains before the summer sun.

The Christian a bondman yet free.

Equality.

Equality. Where equality is a reality and a possibility, the Gospel upholds it; where it is a phantom and a folly, it repudiates it. Nothing brings out the essential equality of all men before God so clearly and so powerfully as the Gospel. Its doctrines of sin and grace are very levelling; but while the one levels down, the other levels up.

Levelling doctrines.

As sin has wrought a common ruin, so grace has provided a common redemption. There is no royal road to heaven. No man can be saved by being "almost a Christian." The greatest emperor must enter heaven, if he enter it at all, by the same door as the humblest of his menials. Thus far, the Bible teaches equality. But it does not teach equality where equality does not exist and cannot be realized. It does not teach equality of capacity, equality of effort, equality of worth, equality of influence, equality of gifts, or even equality of property. It recognises the distinctions of master and servant, of rich and poor, of wise and foolish, of men who double their talents, and men who tie them up in a napkin. It commends self-denying generosity, like that of the early Christians, as a high attainment of the spirit of brotherhood, but it does not enjoin it. The poor, said Christ, ye will always have with you; and the provision He made for them was a permanent provision, when He gave to his followers the spirit which sees in the poor members of Christ, and helps and blesses them for Jesus' sake.

Does not extend to all things.

And this makes true *brotherhood.* The idea which it baffles all the efforts of mere politicians and constitution-mongers to turn into fact, is realized in the Gospel: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren" (Luke xxiii. 8). The Christian society finds room for an idea which

Fraternity

Philemon and Onesimus.

eludes the grasp of the politician. Paul, writing to Philemon, concerning Onesimus, his runaway slave, who had become a believer in Christ, sends him back, "not now a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, both to me, and how much more to thee, both in the flesh, and in the Lord." To carry out the idea of fraternity requires a love and a humility which politics cannot gender, for politics cannot break down the pride and the stiffness of the human heart. "Honour all men" is emphatically a Christian precept.

Spirit of fraternity.

Honour all men.

"Grace," says Archbishop Leighton,[1] "carries still its own worth, though under a deformed body and ragged garments. . . The Jews would not willingly tread on the smallest piece of paper in their way, but took it up, for possibly, said they, the name of God may be on it . . . . Trample not on any ; there may be some work of grace there that thou knowest not of. The name of God may be written on that soul that thou treadest on ; it may be a soul that Christ thought so much of as to give His precious blood for it ; therefore despise it not."

Mr. Green's testimony to English Puritanism.

To support our view that true liberty, equality, and fraternity can spring only from Christian soil, let us quote a striking passage from the work of a very able writer who could appreciate well the moral and spiritual forces that enter into the history of men. In his *History of the English People*, Mr. Green thus sums up his estimate of the social influence of Puritanism :—

"Puritanism gave a noble gift to society at large in its conception of social equality. Their common calling, their common

[1] *Commentary*, 1 Peter ii. 17.

brotherhood in Christ annihilated in the minds of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social distinctions which characterized the age of Elizabeth. There was no open break with social traditions; no open revolt against the social subordination of class to class. But within these forms of the older world, beat for the first time the spirit that was to characterize the new. The meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God. The proudest noble recognized a spiritual equality in the meanest 'saint.' The great social revolution of the civil wars and the protectorate was already felt in the demeanour of English gentlemen. 'He had a loving and sweet courtesy to the poorest' we are told of one of them, 'and would often employ many spare hours with the commonest soldiers and poorest labourers.' 'He never disdained the meanest, nor flattered the greatest.' But it was felt even more in the new dignity and self-respect with which the consciousness of their 'calling' invested the classes beneath the rank of gentry. Take such a portrait as that which a turner in Eastcheap, Nehemiah Wallington, has left us of a London housewife, his mother. 'She was very loving,' he says, 'and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender-hearted to her children, loving all that was godly, much disliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom seen abroad, except at church; when others recreated themselves at holidays and other times she would take her needlework and say, 'Here is my recreation.'"[1]

Social duties.

2. If now we think of *social duties* are they not fully recognised in the New Testament? Does it not rest, as on a great granite floor, on the weighty matters of the law, "judgment, mercy, and faith?" "Putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour, *for we are members one of another*." "Let him that stole steal no more" (Eph. iv. 25, 28). "Owe no man any thing, but to love one another" (Rom. xiii. 8). "Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down

[1] *History of the English People*, III.

your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them that have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth" (James v. 4).

Christian habits of life—Industry.

As to the habits of life by which one is enabled to fulfil one's obligations to society, we find *industry* enjoined; busybodies at Thessalonica, who were above working with their hands, rebuked; and the rule laid down, "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat" (2 Thess. iii. 10). We are to remember our obligation to work for others. "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel" (2 Tim. v. 8). *Self-control* is not only enjoined, but linked to the most powerful and persuasive of all Christian experiences: "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works" (Titus ii. 11–14).

Self-control.

Social graces.

3. Lastly, the Gospel is a great nursery of those *social graces* which give to communities their brightest bloom and highest beauty.

"I have always been of opinion," says Mr. de Liefde, in his preface to *The Charities of Europe*, "that nowhere could a better proof of the divine origin of Christianity, and of the truth of the Gospel be found, than in the story, simply told, of some charitable institutions. Whatever the Christian religion may apparently have, in common with other religions, this much is certain, that true, self-denying charity, which seeks the lost, loves the poor, and consoles the sufferer, is exclusively its own."

Mr. de Liefde's testimony

That beautiful type of character, of which we have very noble samples in men like John Howard and Stephen Grellet, in missionaries like Williams and Moffat, and in ladies like Elizabeth Fry and Agnes Jones, has shown abundantly the vital connexion of faith and philanthropy. Lives of Christian faith cannot but be followed by labours of Christian love. The Christian spirit is not the spirit of the priest and the Levite, but of the good Samaritan. By a kind of instinct, we claim the name of Christian to denote the character of every enterprise that seeks the rescue of the lost, the recovery of the infirm, the comfort of the wretched. The love of Christ furnishes the impelling motive, and the sense of obligation to Christ sustains the unwearied devotion that turns work however repulsive into an interesting and delightful occupation; for service is done to Christ when it is done to His poor and needy ones, and it is certain that not even a cup of cold water, given to a disciple in the name of a disciple, shall in any wise lose its reward. However degrading in outward respects such work may be, in Christian eyes it is exalted

Self-denying philanthropists the creation of the Gospel.

Fellowship with Christ and sympathy with the angels.

and noble; for in such service we join hands with Him who came to seek and to save the lost; and when we succeed, we join hearts and voices with the angels, and share the joy there is in heaven over the sinner that repenteth.

Ultimate effects of contact of the Divine and human.

This brief survey of Bible teachings, principal and subordinate, may suffice to show that while ample provision is made for the main purpose for which Revelation is given, namely, the remedy of man's rupture with God, it contains numberless other adaptations to the varied nature with which he has been endowed. It serves to build up the fallen tabernacle of humanity, and it helps that process of social development towards higher things which would probably have gone on in the history of the race, if no disturbance had occurred. The primal contact of the divine with the human, besides wonderfully advancing the individual, would have done much to advance the race to new heights of intellectual, moral, and social life. By restoring this contact of the divine and the human, Christianity has again made this progress possible. "Onward and upward" may thus be our motto to the end of time.

THE

WITNESS OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

TO THE

OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES

BY

A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Argument of the Tract.

THE credibility of Scripture has been assailed since the beginning of the present century on the ground that the narratives contained in it are not contemporaneous with the events they profess to record, (1) because they represent an incredible amount of civilization as existing in the ancient Eastern world, and are inconsistent with the accounts of classical writers, and (2) because writing was little known or practised by the Jews at so early a period. It is shown that both these arguments are overthrown by the discovery and decipherment of the ancient monuments of Egypt and Western Asia, which prove the minute accuracy of the Biblical accounts, and the prevalence of books and readers in early times.

Wherever the Biblical history comes into contact with that of its powerful neighbours, and can thus be tested by the contemporaneous monuments of Egypt and Assyro-Babylonia, it is confirmed and illustrated even in the smallest details. Typical examples of this are taken from the monuments of Babylonia, Egypt, and Assyria. The extraordinary fidelity of the Biblical narrative to facts which had been utterly forgotten long before the classical era is further illustrated by the recovery of the great Hittite empire, to which there are hitherto unsuspected allusions in the Old Testament.

The discovery of the Moabite Stone, and more especially the Siloam inscription, prove that the Jews in the age of the Kings were well acquainted with the art of writing on parchment or papyrus. And since the Babylonians possessed libraries, and were a literary people, there is no reason why Abraham and his descendants should not also have been able to read or write.

Modern exploration and research, consequently, have shown (1) that the picture of Oriental history presented in the Old Testament is strictly consonant with the facts wherever it can be tested by contemporaneous monuments, and (2) that the art of writing was practised by the Israelites at an early date. Hence the argument against the contemporary character of the Old Testament records falls to the ground, and with it the argument against their historical credibility. This, on the other hand, is confirmed by their agreement in details with the contents of the inscriptions.

THE WITNESS OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

TO THE

OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

Assaults on the historical credibility of the Old Testament.

EVER since the beginning of the present century the historical credibility of the Old Testament Scriptures has been bitterly assailed. The methods that have been employed for resolving the earlier history of Greece and Rome into myth and legend have been turned against the ancient history of the Jewish race. Every effort has been made to show that the books of the Old Testament are a *farrago* of documents and interpolations of various ages, few of which, however, are contemporaneous with the events they profess to record. The events themselves have been treated as the products of distorted tradition or romance, or else assigned a purely mythical origin. Chedorlaomer and his allies have been transformed into solar heroes; the twelve sons of Jacob into the twelve zodiacal signs; and the conquest of Canaan by Joshua into the

The main assumptions of sceptical criticism.

daily struggle of night and dawn. This sceptical criticism has rested on two main assumptions: firstly, that writing was unknown, or but little used, in Palestine until shortly before the Babylonish Exile; and secondly, that the notices of foreign countries in the Old Testament implied an inconceivable amount of civilization in the ancient East, and were inconsistent with the accounts handed down by classical historians.

The discovery and decipherment of monuments.

The same half-century, however, which has witnessed these assaults on the Old Testament has also witnessed the discovery and decipherment of monuments which belong to Old Testament times. At the very moment when the assailants of Scripture had adopted new methods of attack which could no longer be met by the old modes of defence, God was raising up unexpected testimonies to the truth of Biblical history. The ancient civilizations of Egypt, of Babylonia, and of Assyria, now lie outspread before us as fully and clearly as the civilization of Imperial Rome. Sennacherib and Tiglath-Pileser, Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, speak to us, as it were, face to face, and tell us in their own words the story of the deeds in which they themselves took part; and we can trace the very forms of the letters in which Isaiah and Jeremiah recorded their prophecies. The stones have cried out on behalf of the "oracles of God," and have shown that the pictures of ancient history

given in the Old Testament are only such as contemporaries could have drawn, and that books and the art of writing were almost as well known to the age of Hezekiah as they are to the England of to-day.

They prove that the Old Testament history is contemporary.

To prove this we will first take a few typical examples from the monuments of the chief nations of the ancient East which illustrate the leading periods of Old Testament history, and then point out how utterly mistaken is the idea that the people over whom David and Hezekiah ruled were illiterate.

Typical examples.

The fourteenth chapter of Genesis contains an account of an expedition against Palestine made by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allies, one of whom was Amraphel, king of Shinar, or southern Babylonia. The account has been condemned as unhistorical partly because a Babylonian campaign against a distant country like Palestine was held to be incredible at so early a period, partly because a king of Elam appears as leader of the invading army. But recent discoveries have shown that the whole account is in strict accordance with actual fact. Long before the days of Abraham we find from the monuments that the Babylonian kings carried their arms as far as Palestine, and even crossed over into the island of Cyprus, while one of them claims to have conquered the Sinaitic Peninsula. At the period, moreover, to which we must refer the life of Abraham, Babylonia was in

The expedition of Chedorlaomer and his allies against Palestine.

The narrative in strict accordance with actual fact.

Babylon was subject to Elam, and divided into two states.

subjection to Elam, and was divided into two states, the southern of which was called Sumer or Shinar. The very name of Chedorlaomer can be shown to be of Elamite origin. Lagamar was an Elamite deity, and *Kudur* (or *chedor*), in the language of Elam, meant "servant." Bricks are now in the British Museum stamped with the inscriptions of another Elamite prince, Kudur-Mabuk, "the servant of Mabuk," whose name is formed in precisely the same way as that of Chedor-laomer. From these we learn that he had conquered Babylonia, and that his son Eri-Aku ruled at Larsa. Now Eri-Aku is letter for letter the same name as Arioch, and Larsa may be identified with Ellasar, the city of which we are told in Genesis that Arioch was king. Here, therefore, where the book of Genesis touches upon Babylonian history, contemporaneous monuments prove that its statements are faithful to the most minute details.

The Exodus and Egyptian history.

Just as the life of Abraham touches upon Babylonian history, so the Exodus brings us into contact with Egyptian history. The expulsion of the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, in whose time the children of Israel had come into Egypt, brought with it the rise of a new king, "who knew not Joseph," and of a dynasty hostile to all those who had been favoured by the Hyksos princes, or were of Asiatic origin. The oppression culminated in the long reign of Ramses II., for whom the Israelites

built the cities of Raamses and Pithom. Dr. Brugsch has shown that the city of Ramses or Raamses was the name given to Zoan or Tanis, the old capital of the Hyksos, after its reconstruction by Ramses II., and the city of Pithom was discovered only two years ago in the mounds of Tel el-Maskhuta. Tel el-Maskhuta is near the now famous site of Tel el-Kebir, and was called Pa-Tum, the city of "the Setting Sun," by the Egyptians. Inscriptions found on the spot prove that it was built by Ramses II., and was intended for a "store-house" of corn or treasure. The store-chambers themselves have been laid bare. They are very strongly constructed, and are divided by partitions from eight to ten feet thick. The bricks, like most of those found in Egypt, have been baked in the sun, some of them being mixed with straw, and others not. As the discoverer, M. Naville, has observed, we may see in these strawless bricks the work of the oppressed people when the order came: "Thus saith the Pharaoh, I will not give you straw." The Pharaoh of the Exodus, however, must have been the son of Ramses, Meneptah II., whose reign lasted but a short time. It was full of trouble and disaster. In his fifth year Northern Egypt was overrun and devastated by a great invasion of the Libyans, which was with difficulty repulsed; while three years later a body of Beduins made its way from

The store cities.

Recent discovery of Pithom.

Inscriptions found there

The strawless bricks

Edom to the land of Goshen, along part of the very road which the Israelites must have traversed.

Identification of Etham.

The official report of the migration states that they had passed "through the fortress of Khetam, which is situated in Thuku (or Succoth), to the lakes of the city of Pithom, which are in the land of Succoth, in order that they might feed themselves and their herds on the possessions of the Pharaoh." Khetam seems to be the Etham of Scripture.[1]

Growth of Assyria.

As Egypt declined, the kingdom of Assyria grew in power; and it was with Assyria rather than with Egypt that later Israelitish history had to do. Illustrations and confirmations of Holy Writ have poured in abundantly upon us during the last few years from the mounds and ruins of Assyria, and more especially from the sculptured stones and clay books of the Assyrian capital, Nineveh. At first it was objected that the system of interpreting the Assyrian monuments could not be correct, since

> "they would never have so largely concerned themselves as they were represented as doing with a petty and obscure kingdom like that of Judah;"

but now that no doubt any longer hangs over the decipherment of the inscriptions, it is found that they "concerned themselves" with Judah and Israel even more than was originally suspected. From the time of Jehu downwards, the Assyrian

[1] Exodus xiii. 20.

kings were brought into frequent contact and intercourse with the people of Samaria and Jerusalem; and the records they have left us not only confirm the statements of the Old Testament, but also throw light on many passages which have hitherto been obscure.

Frequent contact of Assyrian kings with Samaria and Jerusalem.

"Akhabbu of Sirlâ," or Ahab of Israel, is the first king of Samaria mentioned in the Assyrian texts. He brought two thousand chariots and ten thousand men to the help of Hadadezer, or Ben-hadad II., of Damascus, and his allies, in a great battle against the Assyrians at Karkar or Aroer. This battle must have taken place shortly before his death, and after the conclusion of the alliance between Ahab and Ben-hadad which is recorded in 1 Kings xx. 34. Hadadezer's successor was Khazail, or Hazael, according to the Bible as well as the Assyrian monuments. Hazael was defeated by the Assyrian monarch, who, after a vain attempt to capture Damascus, marched to the shores of the Mediterranean, and there received the tribute of "Yahua, the son of Khumri." Yahua is Jehu, and Khumri Omri, though in calling Jehu his son the Assyrians were misinformed, as he was only Omri's successor. Omri, however, had been the founder of Samaria, which is frequently termed Beth-Omri or "House of Omri" in the inscriptions, and any prince who came after him might well be supposed by a stranger to have been his descendant.

Ahab mentioned in the Assyrian texts.

Hazael.

Jehu and Omri.

Jehu's tribute-bearers to be seen on a small black obelisk in the British Museum.

The tribute-bearers of Jehu can still be seen sculptured on a small black obelisk brought from the ruins of Calah by Sir A. H. Layard, and now in the British Museum. They carry with them bars of gold and silver, a golden vase and a golden spoon, besides cups and goblets of gold, pieces of lead, a sceptre, and precious woods. Their features are those which even now characterise the Jewish race, and their fringed robes descend to their ankles.

After the time of Jehu the Assyrian monuments are silent for some time about affairs in the west. Rimmon-nirari, however, a king who reigned from B.C. 810 to 781, reduced Damascus to a condition of vassalage, and thus prevented it for a time from being dangerous to its neighbours. This explains the successes of Jeroboam II. against the Syrians. He was a contemporary of Rimmon-nirari, and

Monumental explanations of the successes of Jeroboam II.

> "restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the LORD God of Israel, which He spake by the mouth of His servant Jonah, which was of Gath-hepher." [1]

Tiglath-Pileser and his policy.

The dynasty to which Rimmon-nirari belonged was overthrown by a rebellion at the head of which was a military adventurer named Pul, who usurped the throne under the name of Tiglath-Pileser II. in April, B.C. 745. He founded the second Assyrian Empire, and introduced a new system of policy into the East. He and his successors aimed at uniting the whole of Western Asia

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 25.

into a single state. For this purpose they not only made extensive conquests, but also organised and consolidated them under governors appointed by the Assyrian king. Hence it is that from this time forward Palestine was exposed to continual attacks on the part of Assyria. Its princes were made tributary, and when they attempted to rebel, were punished with death or exile, and the captivity of their people. Tiglath-Pileser is the first Assyrian monarch mentioned in the Old Testament because, as we now learn from the monuments, he was the first who led his armies against the Israelites.

Why Tiglath-Pileser is the first Assyrian monarch named in the Old Testament.

According to 2 Kings xv. 29,

"In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria."

His account of his expedition against Gilead, etc.

Tiglath-Pileser, on his side, tells us in an inscription which is unfortunately much mutilated, that in his eleventh year (B.C. 734) he marched against the west; and, after overrunning some of the Phœnician states, captured the towns of Gilead and Abel-beth-maachah, "which belonged to the land of Beth-Omri," and annexed the whole district to Assyria, setting Assyrian governors over it. He then goes on to describe his conquest of Gaza, and adds:

"Some of the inhabitants of the land of Beth-Omri, with their goods, I carried to Assyria. Pekah their king I put to death; I raised Hosea to the sovereignty over them."

This shows that the conspiracy against Pekah, described in 2 Kings xv. 30, was carried out under the protection and with the help of the Assyrian king.

His reference to Menaham being his tributary.

Tiglath-Pileser, under his original name of Pul, had already made himself known to the Israelites. Menahem had become his tributary, and had given him

> "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand."[1]

This event also is referred to by Tiglath-Pileser in his annals, where he states that in B.C. 739 he received tribute from "Menahem of Samaria" and "Rezin of Damascus."

Rezin was the last king of Damascus. Isaiah had prophesied that Damascus and its sovereign should speedily fall, and in 2 Kings xvi. we are told how this came about. Ahaz, attacked by the confederate armies of Pekah and Rezin, called in the powerful aid of Tiglath-Pileser, and purchased his assistance with the gold and silver of the temple and the royal palace. Then

His account of his campaign against Damascus.

> "the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."

We can now read the history of the campaign at greater length on the monuments of the Assyrian king himself. After receiving the Jewish bribe, we learn that he marched into Syria in B.C. 734. Rezin

[1] 2 Kings xv. 19.

was defeated in battle, his chariots destroyed, his officers captured and impaled, while he himself escaped to Damascus, where he was closely besieged. The Syrian territory was swept with fire and sword, the sixteen districts into which it was divided were "overwhelmed as with a flood," and the beautiful trees and gardens surrounding the town were cut down and destroyed. Damascus, however, proved too strong to be taken by assault; so leaving a force before it to reduce it by famine, Tiglath-Pileser overran the northern part of Israel, and, as we have seen, carried away the inhabitants of Gilead and Naphtali. He then entered Samaria, and placed Hosea on the throne; and subsequently returned to Damascus, which fell in B.C. 732, after a siege of two years. Rezin was put to death, and a great court held, at which the subject princes of the neighbouring countries presented themselves with gifts. Among them was Jehoahaz of Judah, whom the Biblical writers call Ahaz, omitting the sacred name of the God of Israel from the name of a king who was unworthy to bear it. It was when Ahaz was at Damascus that he saw the altar the pattern of which he sent to Urijah the priest.

Defeat of Rezin.

The overrunning of northern Israel.

Entry into Samaria.

Fall of Damascus.

Rezin's execution.

Court held, at which Ahaz was present.

Not the least of the services rendered to students of the Old Testament by the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions is the restoration of the true chronology of the Israelite and Jewish kings. As is well known, this chronology has long been the

The restoration of the true chronology of the Israelite and Jewish kings.

despair of historians, and the most contradictory schemes for reducing it to order have been confidently put forward. The Assyrians reckoned time by the names of certain officers who were changed from year to year, and corresponded with the eponymous archons of ancient Athens. Lists of these Assyrian officers have been preserved, extending from B.C. 909 to the closing days of the monarchy, and we can thus accurately fix the dates of the various events which marked the terms of office of the successive eponymes. In this way the difficulties which formerly obscured the chronology of the Books of Kings have at length been cleared away.

The Assyrian method of calculating time.

Lists of officers discovered.

Difficulties cleared away.

Tiglath-Pileser died in December, B.C. 727, and the crown was usurped by Elulæos, who took the name of Shalmaneser IV. He carried Hosea into captivity, and laid siege to Samaria, as we are told in the Bible. "The king of Assyria," however, who actually captured Samaria, was not Shalmaneser, but his successor Sargon, who seized the throne after Shalmaneser's death in December, B.C. 722. Immediately afterwards Samaria fell; and Sargon informs us that 27,280 of its inhabitants were sent into exile, and an Assyrian governor set over it who was ordered to raise each year the same amount of tribute as that which had been paid by Hosea. The small number of persons carried captive shows that only the upper classes

The capture of Samaria by Sargon.

were transported from their homes, as was the case with the Jews who were carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar along with Jehoiachin; the poorer portion of the population, who were not considered responsible for the revolt from Assyria, being allowed to remain. The exiles were settled on the banks of the Habor or Khabur, a river which falls into the Euphrates, and flows from a country called Gozan by the Assyrians, as well as in the cities of the Medes. These had been conquered by Sargon, and their old inhabitants sent elsewhere.

Only the upper classes removed.

The settlement of the exiles.

Sargon's name occurs but once in the Old Testament,[1] and as no trace of it could be found in classical writers it was objected to as fictitious. Now, however, we find that Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, was one of the greatest monarchs who ever ruled over Assyria, and that his reign lasted as long as seventeen years. The event referred to by Isaiah, when the Tartan or commander-in-chief was ordered to invest Ashdod, is recorded in Sargon's annals, and formed part of the history of a campaign which has thrown new and unexpected light upon certain passages of Scripture.

Sargon, once supposed to be a fictitious name, now proved to have been a most powerful monarch

The prophecy contained in the tenth chapter of Isaiah has been alleged to be contrary to fact, and to have never been fulfilled. When Sennacherib invaded Judæa, he did not march upon Jerusalem from the north-east, as Isaiah describes the Assyrians

The tenth chapter of Isaiah alleged to be contrary to fact.

[1] Isaiah xx. 1

as doing, but from the south-west; while Jerusalem was not captured, as Isaiah implies would be the case. Indeed the whole spirit of the prophecy delivered by Isaiah when Sennacherib threatened the city[1] is in striking contrast to that contained in the tenth chapter. If we turn to another prophecy[2] we shall find a picture placed before our eyes which is even more inconsistent with what we know about the campaign of Sennacherib. Here Jerusalem is described as being worn out with a long siege; its defenders are dying of famine; the Assyrians are at its gates; and the prophet declares that it is about to fall. As long as it was thought necessary to refer these prophecies to the invasion of Sennacherib, they were hopelessly irreconcilable with the real facts.

Contrast to other passages.

Accuracy of Scripture vindicated by the monuments.

But all difficulties have now been removed, and the accuracy of Scripture thoroughly vindicated. We gather from the Assyrian monuments that ten years before the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib there had been a previous invasion by his father Sargon. A Chaldean chief named Merodach-Baladan had made himself king of Babylon on the death of Shalmaneser, and succeeded for some years in maintaining himself against his dangerous neighbour, the Assyrian king. As Sargon, however, became more and more powerful, Merodach-Baladan began to make

Merodach-Baladan's usurpation of the throne of Babylon.

[1] Isaiah xxxvii. [2] Isaiah xxii.

endeavours to form a vast league against him. Ambassadors were sent for the purpose to Elam on the east, and to Egypt, Judah, and other Syrian states on the west. We learn from the Bible that Hezekiah's recent recovery from illness formed the pretext for their visit to him. The league was formed; but before its members had time to act in concert, Sargon became aware of it, and at once marched against Palestine. "The widespreading land of Judah" was overrun, and its capital taken; Ashdod, which had been a centre of disaffection, was razed to the ground, the Moabites and Edomites were punished, and the Egyptian king was prevented from coming to the help of his allies. It was this invasion of Judah and this capture of Jerusalem to which Isaiah refers in the tenth and twenty-second chapters of his prophecies; and the Biblical statements are thus shown to be an exact representation of the actual facts. In the following year (B.C. 710) Sargon turned upon Merodach-Baladan. The Elamites were defeated, Babylon was taken, and the Chaldean prince driven to the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, while Sargon proclaimed himself king of Babylonia.

His league against Sargon.

Sargon's march against Palestine. overrunning of Judah and capture of Jerusalem.

This invasion referred to in Isa. x. and xxii.

Sargon was murdered by his soldiers, and succeeded by his son Sennacherib, who mounted the throne on the 12th of Ab or July, B.C. 705. Trusting to the support of Tirhakah, the Ethiopian

Sargon's death, and Sennacherib's succession.

Hezekiah's revolt.

king of Egypt, Hezekiah threw off his allegiance to Assyria, and was followed in this act by the Phœnicians and other neighbouring states. It was not until B.C. 701, the fourth year of his reign, that Sennacherib found himself free to punish the rebels. Then came that memorable campaign, the latter part of which is described in such detail by Isaiah and in the Second Book of Kings, and which ended so disastrously for the vainglorious Assyrian king. An account of it is given with almost equal detail by Sennacherib himself, though the final disaster is naturally glossed over, and only the earlier successes of the expedition recorded. More than one version of the account has been found among the clay books of Nineveh: here is the translation of one of them:—

Sennacherib's campaign and disaster.

One of the Assyrian accounts.

"In my third campaign I went to the land of the Hittites. The fear of the greatness of my majesty overwhelmed Elulæos, king of Sidon, and he fled afar in the middle of the sea (*i.e.* to Cyprus), and his land I subjected. As for Great Sidon and Little Sidon, Beth-Zeth, Sarepta, Makhallib, Usu, Ekdippa, and Akko (Acre), his strong cities, the fenced-in fortresses and villages, the barracks of his troops, the fear of the weapons of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them, and they knelt at my feet. I set Ethbaal on the royal throne over them, and laid upon him the tribute and taxes due to my majesty each year for ever. Menahem of Samsi-murun, Ethbaal of Sidon, Abdilihti of Arvad, Uru-melech of Gebal, Metinti of Ashdod, Pedael of Ammon, Chemosh-nadab of Moab, Melech-ram of Edom, all the kings of the west, brought the full amount of their rich gifts and treasures to my presence and kissed my feet. But Zedekiah, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, himself,

Assyrian account continued.

the gods of the house of his fathers, his wife, his sons, his daughters, and his brothers, the seed of the house of his fathers, I removed, and I sent him to Assyria. I set over the men of Ashkelon, Sarludari, the son of Rukipti, their former king, and I imposed upon him the payment of tribute and the homage due to my majesty, and he became a vassal. In the course of my campaign I approached and captured Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Bene-berak and Azur, the cities of Zedekiah, which did not submit at once to my yoke, and I carried away their spoil. The priests, the chief men, and the common people of Ekron, who had thrown into chains their king Padi (Pedaiah), because he was faithful to his oaths to Assyria, and had given him up to Hezekiah the Jew, who imprisoned him like an enemy in a dark dungeon, feared in their hearts. The king of Egypt, the bowmen, the chariots, and the horses of the king of Ethiopia, had gathered together innumerable forces, and gone to their assistance. In sight of the town of Eltekeh was their order of battle drawn up; they summoned their troops (to the fight). Trusting in Assur, my lord, I fought with them and overthrew them. My hands took the captains of the chariots, and the sons of the king of Egypt, as well as the captains of the chariots of the king of Ethiopia, alive in the midst of the battle. I approached and captured the towns of Eltekeh and Timnath, and I carried away their spoil. I marched against the city of Ekron, and put to death the priests and the chief men who had committed the sin (of rebellion), and I hung up their bodies on stakes all round the city. The citizens who had done wrong and wickedness I counted as a spoil; as for the rest of them who had done no sin or crime, in whom no fault was found, I proclaimed their freedom (from punishment). I had Padi, their king, brought out from the midst of Jerusalem, and I seated him on the throne of royalty over them, and I laid upon him the tribute due to my majesty. But as for Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, forty-six of his strong cities, together with innumerable fortresses and small towns which depended on them, by overthrowing the walls and open attack, by battle, engines and battering-rams, I besieged, I captured; I brought out from the midst of them and counted as a spoil 200,150 persons, great and small, male and female, besides mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number. Hezekiah himself I shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem,

his royal city. I built a line of forts against him, and I kept back his heel from going forth out of the great gate of his city. I cut off his cities which I had spoiled from the midst of his land, and gave them to Metinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Zil-baal, king of Gaza, and I made his country small. In addition to their former tribute and yearly gifts, I added other tribute and the homage due to my majesty, and I laid it upon them. The fear of the greatness of my majesty overwhelmed him, even Hezekiah, and he sent after me to Nineveh, my royal city, by way of gift and tribute, the Arabs and his body-guard whom he had brought for the defence of Jerusalem, his royal city, and had furnished with pay, along with thirty talents, eight hundred talents of pure silver, carbuncles and other precious stones, a couch of ivory, thrones of ivory, an elephant's hide, an elephant's tusk, rare woods of all kinds, a vast treasure, as well as the eunuchs of his palace, and dancing-men and dancing-women; and he sent his ambassador to offer homage."

Sennacherib's significant omission in this account.

In this account Sennacherib discreetly omits to mention why it was that he never captured Jerusalem itself, after all the preparations he had made for doing so, or why he did not succeed in punishing Hezekiah as he was accustomed to punish other rebellious princes. His silence on this point, and the fact that he never again ventured to invade Palestine, are the strongest possible confirmations of the truth of the Biblical story. In order to cover the disastrous ending of his campaign he has transposed the period at which Hezekiah's embassy was sent to him, and made it follow the despatch of the Rab-Shakeh or chamberlain to Jerusalem. It really preceded the latter event, and was a vain attempt on the part of Hezekiah to buy off the punishment threatened

His transposition of Hezekiah's embassy, and the despatch of the Rab-Shakeh to Jerusalem.

him by the Assyrian king. The embassy reached Sennacherib just after his capture of Lachish in the south of Judah, and there is now a bas-relief in the British Museum which represents him seated on his throne, with the inhabitants of the unfortunate city kneeling before him. An inscription in front of the king reads:

"'Sennacherib, the king of multitudes, the king of Assyria, sat on an upright throne, and the spoil of the city of Lachish passed before him."

No discrepancy in reference to the sum sent by Hezekiah.

It may be added that the eight hundred talents of silver which, according to Sennacherib, were received from Hezekiah, are really the same as the five hundred spoken of in the Bible. There were two standards of value, and eight hundred talents, if reckoned by the one, would be equivalent to five hundred if reckoned by the other.

The captivity of Manasseh in Babylon.

Before we leave the Assyrian records we must notice a statement of Scripture which has been the subject of much hostile criticism, but has now been curiously verified by modern research. In 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 11, it is said that the king of Assyria, after crushing the revolt of Manasseh, carried him away captive to Babylon. The fact is not mentioned in the Books of Kings, and it has been asked, how could a king of Assyria carry his prisoners to Babylon? Had the fact been an invention of a later age when the history of Assyria had been forgotten, we may feel quite sure

that Nineveh and not Babylon would have been assigned as the place of Manasseh's imprisonment. But the supposed error turns out to be a strong verification of the Scriptural narrative. Manasseh was the contemporary of Sennacherib's son and successor, Esar-haddon, who alludes to him by name in more than one inscription, and Esar-haddon not only rebuilt Babylon—which had been destroyed by his father—but held his court there during half the year. That Manasseh should afterwards have been pardoned and restored to his throne is also in full accordance with the evidence of the monuments. Rebel princes were so treated not unfrequently. Thus, Assur-bani-pal, the successor of Esar-haddon, tells us, that, after sending a revolted Egyptian prince to Nineveh, bound hand and foot with iron fetters, he forgave the prisoner, and allowed him to return to his kingdom.

Esar-haddon rebuilt Babylon, and held his court there half the year.

Rebel princes frequently restored.

Jerusalem was destined to fall by the hand, not of an Assyrian, but of a Babylonian monarch. The Babylonian empire of Nebuchadnezzar rose on the ruins of that of Assyria; but though we have many inscriptions of the great Babylonian king relating to his buildings, only a small fragment of his annals has as yet been found. This, however, disposes of the doubts that have been expressed as to the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy of the Babylonian conquest of Egypt. It tells us that, in his thirty-seventh year (B.C. 568), Nebuchadnezzar

The rise of Nebuchadnezzar's Babylonian empire.

invaded Egypt, and defeated the Egyptian king Amasis. Egyptian monuments supplement this mutilated record. We learn from them that the invading forces penetrated the country as far as the extreme south, and that it was not until they had reached Assouan that they were driven back again by the Egyptian general, Hor. Only a year ago an interesting discovery was made in the mounds of Tel Defenneh, the ancient Daphnê, on the western side of the Suez Canal. This consisted of small clay cylinders covered with Babylonian writing, which enumerated the titles and building operations of Nebuchadnezzar. They must have been buried in this frontier-town of Egypt as a token of the Babylonian conquest of the country.

Confirmation of fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy of the Babylonian conquest of Egypt.

Recent discovery of clay cylinders enumerating the titles and building operations of Nebuchadnezzar.

The history of the overthrow of Nebuchadnezzar's empire has now been told to us by Cyrus himself. Two long inscriptions of his have been discovered in the ruins of Babylon, one of which gives, in chronological order, the events which marked the reign of Nabonidos, the father of Belshazzar, and the last Babylonian king, as well as the history of the final conquest of Babylon; while the other is a proclamation put forth by Cyrus not long after the defeat and death of Nabonidos. In this he declares that

Inscriptions of Cyrus recording the overthrow of Nebuchadnezzar's empire.

"Bel-Merodach, the great lord, the restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his vicegerent (Cyrus), who was

Proclamation of Cyrus.

righteous in hand and heart. To his city of Babylon he summoned his march, and bade him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side."

Assembly and restoration of captive peoples by Cyrus.

When the conquest was completed, Cyrus assembled the various peoples whom the Babylonian kings had carried into captivity, and restored them and their gods to their own lands. Among these peoples were, as the Bible teaches us, the Jews, who returned, not with the images of false gods, but with the sacred vessels of the ruined temple.

The Old Testament confirmed and explained by contemporary documents.

Such, then, are some of the most striking verifications of the truth of the Old Testament record, where it refers to the great kingdoms and empires that surrounded the chosen people. In every case where we can test it by contemporaneous monuments, the authenticity of which is doubted by no one, we find it confirmed and explained, even in the minutest points. Such accuracy would be impossible if the Biblical narratives had been composed at a later period than that to which the events belong. Legend soon takes the place of history in the East, and the classical writers show how quickly the real annals of Egypt and Assyria were forgotten. Monumental research has not only proved the truth of the events recorded in Scripture, it also proves that the account of these events must have been written by contemporaries. On no other hypothesis is the minute accuracy which distinguishes it to be explained.

The accounts must have been written by contemporaries.

The Hittites.

This accuracy has lately been illustrated by a startling and unexpected discovery. Besides the small Hittite tribe settled in the south of Judah, of whom we hear so much in connection with the lives of the patriarchs, reference is more than once made in the Books of Kings to Hittites living in the north of Syria. Solomon, we are told, imported horses from Egypt, which were sold again to "all the kings of the Hittites" and the kings of Aram or Syria.[1] Again, when God had sent a panic upon the Syrian army which was besieging Samaria, the soldiers of Ben-hadad supposed that

> "the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians." [2]

Allusions to northern Hittites regarded as destructive of Old Testament credibility.

Objectors to the historical truth of the Old Testament narrative, like Prof. F. Newman, declared that these allusions to northern Hittites destroyed its credibility. No Hittites in the north of Syria were known to classical writers; and the Hittites of Genesis lived in the southern part of Judæa. But first the Egyptian and then the Assyrian monuments proved that not only did Hittite tribes inhabit the very district to which the notices in the Books of Kings would assign them, but also that they were once a very powerful and important people. In the time of the great Egyptian monarch, Ramses II., the oppressor of the children of Israel, they contended on equal terms with the Egyptians themselves; the

Their existence and power proved by Egyptian and Assyrian monuments

[1] 1 Kings x. 29. [2] 2 Kings vii. 6.

Egyptian king was glad finally to secure a peace by marrying a Hittite princess. For several centuries they successfully withstood the power of Assyria; and it was not until the reign of Sargon that their capital, Carchemish, was at last taken by storm, and the last Hittite sovereign replaced by an Assyrian governor. In the age of the Exodus they had carried their arms across Asia Minor as far as the shores of the Ægean, and the empire they founded in Asia Minor has left remains in the neighbourhood of the river Halys, as well as on the sculptured rocks of Lydia. They had invented a peculiar system of pictorial writing, and their art, though based on Babylonian models, was also of a peculiar kind. The early art of Greece was indebted to it, and through the art of Greece the art of modern Europe as well. The site of their northern capital, Carchemish, was discovered at a place now called Jerablûs, on the Euphrates, by Mr. George Smith, during the ill-fated expedition which eventually cost him his life. Since then the ruins of Carchemish have been partially explored, and some of the Hittite monuments disinterred among them are now in the British Museum. Carchemish, however, was not the only capital the Hittites possessed. The Bible speaks of their "kings" in the plural, and in agreement with this we find from the Egyptian inscriptions that they had also a southern capital on the Orontes, called Kadesh.

Their resistance to Assyria and final overthrow.

Their empire in Asia Minor.

Discovery of the site of their capital.

Their southern capital.

Kadesh mentioned in the Old Testament.

A recent discovery has shown that Kadesh as well as Carchemish is mentioned in the Old Testament. Manuscripts make it clear that the Septuagint text of 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 reads "Kadesh of the Hittites," instead of the corrupt "Tahtim-hodshi" of the Hebrew text. David's census, accordingly, was taken throughout the whole extent of his empire, which then included Damascus, and consequently bordered on the Hittite Kadesh in the north. Here again, therefore, modern research has proved the accuracy of the Old Testament record in a point so minute as to have escaped the notice of the most eagle-eyed critic. Indeed, the very existence of the Hittite Kadesh had been forgotten since its destruction by the Syrian kings, shortly after the age of David, until it was again brought to light by the decipherment of the Egyptian texts.

Undesigned coincidences between the Scriptures and modern discoveries.

The recovery of the long-forgotten Hittite empire has also revealed some more "undesigned coincidences," as they may be called, between the statements of the sacred writers and the discoveries of modern research. While making war upon the Syrians, David is represented as being on friendly terms with Hamath. Toi, king of Hamath, in fact, sent his son Joram to David with presents,

"because he had fought against Hadadezer and smitten him; for Hadadezer had wars with Toi."[1]

Now Hamath turns out to have been a Hittite king-

[1] 2 Sam. viii. 10.

dom, and the Hittites and their Syrian neighbours belonged to different races, and were continually engaged in war. It was, therefore, natural, that Toi should have made alliance with David, who had broken the power of the common enemy.

Hamath and Judah.

This alliance between Hamath and Judah must have lasted down to the time when Hamath was reduced by Sargon, and became an Assyrian dependency. Tiglath-Pileser II. informs us that Uzziah of Judah was the ally of Yahu-bihdi or Jeho-bihad, king of Hamath. This explains a passage of Scripture[1] which has long presented a difficulty, though the difficulty is now seen to have been due to our own ignorance, and to be really a striking confirmation of the truth of the inspired record. When it is said that Jeroboam II. recovered "Hamath, which was (allied) with Judah, for Israel," we are supplied with the middle link of a chain which begins with the embassy of Toi to David, and ends with the alliance between Uzziah and Yahu-bihdi. It is noticeable that Yahu-bihdi and Joram, the son of Toi, are the only Gentiles known to us whose names are compounded with that of the God of Israel.

Recovery of a missing link in the history.

Writing known and practised at the time covered by the larger part of the Old Testament Scriptures.

It now only remains to point out how recent discoveries have shown that writing was known and practised in Judah at the time to which the larger part of the Old Testament Scriptures pro-

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 28.

fesses to belong. There have been two discoveries which more especially make this clear. These are the discoveries of the Moabite Stone and the Siloam Inscription. The Moabite Stone was a monument erected by Mesha, the contemporary of Ahab, who is called "a sheepmaster" in 2 Kings iii. 4. It is consequently as old as the ninth century before the Christian era, and was discovered in 1869 by Mr. Klein, a German missionary, among the ruins of Dhibân, the ancient Dibon. Owing to an unfortunate dispute for the possession of the Stone, it was broken into pieces by the Arabs, though not until after some imperfect squeezes of it had been made. Most of the fragments have since been recovered and fitted together, but the concluding lines are still missing. A translation of the text will show how historically important it is:—

The Moabite Stone.

"I, Mesha, am the son of Chemosh-Gad, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I erected this stone to Chemosh at Kirkha, a (stone of) salvation, for he saved me from all despoilers, and made me see my desire upon all my enemies, even upon Omri, king of Israel. Now they afflicted Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his land. His son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab. In my days (Chemosh) said, (Let us go) and I will see my desire upon him and his house, and I will destroy Israel with an everlasting destruction. Now Omri took the land of Medeba, and (the enemy) occupied it in (his days and in) the days of his son, forty years. And Chemosh (had mercy) on it in my days; and I fortified Baal-Meon, and I made therein the tank, and I fortified Kiriathaim. For the men of Gad dwelt in the land of (Atar)oth from of old, and the king (of) Israel fortified for himself Ataroth, and I

Translation of the text.

Translated text of the Moabite Stone.

assaulted the wall and captured it, and killed all the warriors of the wall for the well-pleasing of Chemosh and Moab; and I removed from it all the spoil, and (offered) it before Chemosh in Kirjath; and I placed therein the men of Siran and the men of Mochrath. And Chemosh said to me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. (And I) went in the night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn till noon, and I took it and slew in all 7,000 (men, but I did not kill) the women (and) maidens, for (I) devoted them to Ashtar-Chemosh; and I took from it the vessels of Yahveh [Jehovah], and offered them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel fortified Jahaz, and occupied it, when he made war against me; and Chemosh drove him out before (me, and) I took from Moab 200 men, all its poor, and placed them in Jahaz, and took it to annex it to Dibon. I built Kirkha, the wall of the forest, and the wall of the city, and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof, and I built the palace, and I made the prisons for the criminals within the walls. And there was no cistern in the wall at Kirkha, and I said to all the people, make for yourselves, every man, a cistern in his house. And I dug the ditch for Kirkha by means of the (captive) men of Israel. I built Aroer, and I made the road across the Arnon. I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was destroyed; I built Bezer, for it had been cut (down) by the armed men of Dibon, for all Dibon was now loyal; and I reigned from Bikran, which I added to my land, and I built (Beth-Gamul) and Beth-Diblathaim and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I placed there the poor (people) of the land. And as to Horonaim, (the men of Edom) dwelt therein (from of old). And Chemosh said to me, Go down, make war against Horonaim, and take (it. And I assaulted it and I took it, and) Chemosh (restored it) in my days. Wherefore I made . . . ."

Mesha's and the Biblical accounts supplement each other.

The story told by Mesha and the account given in the Bible supplement one another. Mesha delivered Moab from the yoke of the Israelites during the reign of Ahaziah, the successor of Ahab, and Joram, Ahaziah's successor, was subsequently driven out of Jahaz. It was at this moment of national victory that Mesha erected the monument

recording his success. Then, however, the tide of fortune turned, Joram summoned his allies from Judah and Edom, Moab was ravaged, and Mesha besieged in his capital of Kirkha. In his despair he sacrificed his eldest son upon the wall of the city; "and there was great indignation against Israel; and they departed from him and returned to their own land."

The language of the inscription almost the same as that of the Old Testament.

The chief interest attaching to the inscription in our eyes, lies, perhaps, in the language and characters in which it is written. The language is almost exactly the same as that of the Old Testament, and shows that the dialect of Moab differed much less from Hebrew than does one English dialect from another. The very phrases recur which the Old Testament has made familiar to us, and at times we might fancy that we were listening to a chapter of the Bible. The characters, too, in which the text is written, belong to a form of the Phœnician alphabet which must have resembled very closely that used by the Jews. We may thus see in them the mode of writing employed by the earlier prophets, and correct by their means the corrupt readings which the carelessness of copyists has allowed to creep into the sacred text.

The characters resemble those used by the Jews

The Siloam inscription

Since the discovery of the Moabite Stone, another early inscription has been found in Jerusalem itself, which shows us precisely how the books of the Old Testament, which were composed between

the time of David and the Babylonian Captivity, must have been originally written. This is the Siloam inscription, engraved in the rock-cut tunnel which conveys the water of the Virgin's Spring—the only natural spring in or about Jerusalem—to the pool of Siloam. Its strange position in a dark underground conduit, through which the water was perpetually flowing, caused it to remain unnotice until three or four years ago. Even after the discovery the water had to be lowered, and the calcareous deposit with which the characters were filled to be removed, before the inscription could be satisfactorily read. It runs as follows :—

Its strange position.

Translation. "(Behold) the excavation! Now this is the history of the excavation. While the excavators were still lifting up the pick, each towards his neighbour, and while there were yet three cubits to (excavate, there was heard) the voice of one man calling to his neighbour, for there was an excess in the rock on the right hand (and on the left). And after that on the day of excavating the excavators had struck pick against pick, one against the other, the waters flowed from the Spring to the Pool for a distance of 1200 cubits. And (part) of a cubit was the height of the rock over the head of the excavators."

Engineering skill shown in the excavation.

It will be observed that even at so early a period as that to which the inscription belongs, the art of engineering was sufficiently advanced to allow the workmen of the Jewish king to commence tunnelling the hill simultaneously at its two opposite ends, and to calculate upon meeting in the middle. What makes the work the more astonishing is that the distance from the mouth of the tunnel to

its exit is 1708 yards, and that the tunnel itself winds about a good deal. The exact date at which the work was executed is disputed, since while there are several reasons which would make us assign it to the age of Solomon, there are others which have led the majority of scholars to place it in the reign of Hezekiah. In this case it will be the conduit made by Hezekiah which is mentioned in 2 Kings xx. 20, and 2 Chron xxxii. 30. Now the forms of the letters used in the inscription make it quite clear that the engraver was accustomed to write on parchment or papyrus, and not on stone. They are rounded, and not angular like the characters on the Moabite Stone. It is plain, therefore, that the alphabet employed in Judah was that of a people who were in the habit of writing and reading *books*. Another noticeable peculiarity about the inscription is that it is not a public document; even the name of the reigning king is not mentioned. It must have been engraved by one of the workmen in his delight at the successful completion of the work. The careful way in which the letters are formed, and the labour involved in cutting them in a place where they were never likely to be seen, prove that writing was as familiar to him as tunnelling the rock. The conclusion from this fact is obvious; if an ordinary workman was thus familiar with the art of writing, the professional scribes and priests and members

The probable date of the inscription.

The engraver accustomed to write on parchment.

Not a public document.

Engraved by a workman.

The conclusion to be drawn from the facts.

of the prophetical schools must have been much more so. There is no reason for thinking that the art was not as much known and practised as it is in our own day.

Confirmation of the conclusion by the monuments of Egypt and Assyria.

This conclusion is confirmed by the monuments of Egypt and Assyria. Books were common in Egypt from the very earliest times; the profession of the scribe was held in high honour; and both public and private monuments were covered with characters which it was presumed could be read by everyone. Among the fragments of ancient Egyptian literature that have come down to us is a collection of letters, intended to serve as a model for this particular kind of composition. The great library of Nineveh has already been alluded to. This was formed in imitation of the libraries that had existed in all the Babylonian cities from a most remote period. Long before the age of Abraham, there were not only libraries well stocked with books on clay and papyrus, but there were numerous readers also. The libraries were public, and the extent to which their contents were increased by the addition of new works and the multiplication of copies of old ones shows how well frequented they were. The books were arranged and catalogued as in a modern library, and they treated of every department of knowledge and represented every class of literature which was known at the time. If the Israelites had been

The existence of libraries at a very early period.

They were public, well frequented, and well arranged.

illiterate, living midway, as they did, between Assyria and Egypt, and bordering on the highly-civilized cities of Phœnicia, it would have been nothing short of a miracle. That they were not so has now been put beyond the reach of cavil by the discovery of the Siloam inscription. It bears out the testimony afforded by a passage in Proverbs,[1] where it is said that Hezekiah's scribes made a new edition of the proverbs of Solomon, doubtless for a library similar to those of Assyria and Babylon.

The Israelites not illiterate

Hezekiah's edition of Solomon's proverbs.

The recovery of the ancient civilizations of the East during the last half-century has thus made it clear (1) that the narratives of the Old Testament, wherever they can be tested by confessedly contemporaneous documents, are accurate even to the most minute details; (2) that the Jews before the exile were a literary people, possessing at least one library, and well acquainted with the art of writing. Consequently, no arguments can be drawn against the credibility of the Old Testament Scriptures on the ground that their historical statements are false or mythical, or that they could not have been written at the early date to which they lay claim. There is no reason why Abraham himself should not have been able to write; his contemporaries in Ur of the Chaldees could most of them do so; there is still less reason why his descendants who had been brought into contact with the litera-

Results of the recovery of the ancient civilizations.

Abraham may have been able to write.

[1] Proverbs xxv. 1.

The Biblical books have the weight of contemporary evidence.

ture of Egypt should not have written too. If the Biblical books were composed at the time to which the events described in them belong, the accounts they give of those events would have all the authority and weight of contemporary evidence. A writer does not give a false account of things which are well known to his readers, or imagine events which his contemporaries can show have never happened. We have seen that what we now know about the history of writing in the East, not only makes it possible that the Biblical books were written at the time to which tradition assigns them, but also makes it probable that they were. It is not likely that the Israelites would have abstained from composing books when they were acquainted with the art of writing, and when the nations by whom they were surrounded had long been in the possession of libraries. And that the Biblical books actually belong to the time to which tradition assigns them is evidenced by the confirmation their contents have received from the decipherment of the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. The accuracy they display in small points is only explicable, as we have seen, on the hypothesis that the histories contained in them were related by contemporaries.

Their authenticity confirmed by the monuments.

The relation of the Old Testament to the New.

The Old Testament is the preparation for the New. The Divine authority of the one is intimately bound up with that of the other. The

history of the Jewish Church finds its explanation only in the advent of Christ; the message delivered by the prophets cannot be understood except in the light of the Gospel. If the history is a medley of myths and legends, where are the foundations upon which Christianity was to build? If the prophecies were the composition of a later age than that to which they profess to refer, what becomes of the testimony to which our Lord Himself appealed? Happily we are not called upon to answer these questions; the long-buried stones have been disinterred to cry out against the assailants of our faith, the long-forgotten empires of the ancient East have arisen out of the grave of centuries to testify to the truth of "the oracles of God."

The interdependence of the sacred history, the prophecies, and the Gospel.

The monuments testify to the truth of the oracles of God.

It will be seen that the argument of this Tract has so far been a *positive* one. We have endeavoured to show by the aid of contemporaneous monuments that the Jews and their neighbours were not the barbarous and illiterate people objectors to the truth of the Biblical narrative have tacitly assumed them to be, and we have further pointed out the agreement between the Biblical narrative and these contemporaneous monuments wherever they come into contact with one another. But the argument would not be complete unless we add to it a *negative* one. We have to show that the statements contained in books later in date than the events which they profess to record are

A negative argument.

not only inconsistent with the evidence of the monuments, but are frequently contradicted by it. Books like those of Tobit and Judith, on the one hand, or the history of the ancient East preserved in classical writers, on the other hand, will not bear the test of an appeal to the native inscriptions. Their statements are frequently irreconcileable with the facts obtained by modern Egyptian and Assyrian research, and they betray their late origin in various small inaccuracies.

Apocryphal and classical writers often untrustworthy.

The Book of Tobit.

Let us take, for example, the book of Tobit. Tobit is said to have been carried captive to Nineveh, along with his brethren of the tribe of Naphtali, by the Assyrian king Enemessar, whose son and successor was Sennacherib. But Naphtali, as we have seen, was really carried into captivity by Tiglath-Pileser, who was in no way related to Sennacherib, and between whom and Sennacherib there was an interval of two reigns and twenty-two years. Enemessar is evidently intended for Shalmaneser, the Assyrian Sallimanu-esir, "Solomon (*i.e.*, the god of peace) directs." Shalmaneser, however, did not even belong to the same family as Sennacherib. Sennacherib's father was Sargon, who had seized the throne on the death or murder of Shalmaneser. But the author of the book of Tobit knew nothing of Sargon. A misinterpretation of the passage in the book of Kings relating to the fall of Samaria had led him to imagine that

Mistake about Shalmaneser.

it had been captured by Shalmaneser; and as Sennacherib was the next king of Assyria whose name appeared in the historical books of the Old Testament, he jumped to the conclusion that Shalmaneser had been his father and immediate predecessor.

Mistake about Sennacherib's death.

Tobit is further made to assert that Sennacherib's murder took place only fifty-five days after his return from his disastrous campaign in Palestine. Here again the author of the apocryphal book has misinterpreted the Old Testament record, and has accordingly been led into a grave historical error. The campaign in Palestine occurred in B.C. 701, and Sennacherib's death in B.C. 681, so that there was really an interval of twenty years between the two events. During this interval Sennacherib engaged in several wars, though he did not again venture to attack Hezekiah, and we possess inscriptions of his in which he describes them.

Errors in geography.

The geography of Tobit is as irreconcileable with the monumental evidence as is the history. Rages, the city of Media which Tobit is said to have visited, probably had no existence in the time of Sennacherib. At any rate it was unknown to the Assyrians, and consequently could not have been one of the Median cities in which the Israelitish captives were settled by the Assyrian king. The same was also the case with Ekbatana. No mention is made of it in the Assyrian inscriptions before the fall of Nineveh; and since the district

in which it was situated was overrun by Sargon, it would seem that it was founded subsequently to his reign. At all events, in the age of Sargon and Sennacherib, the district of which it was afterwards the capital did not form part of Media at all. It was called Ellip, the Medes living to the north and the east of it. Like Rages, therefore, it could not have received an Israelitish population from the Assyrians. The anachronism is only equalled by the historical anachronism in the last verse of the book, where it is stated that Nineveh was overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar and Assuerus. The real destroyers of Nineveh were Kyaxares, the Median monarch, and Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar. Assuerus is the Hebrew form of Xerxes, and Xerxes was a Persian prince, who did not reign until a century and a half after the fall of the Assyrian empire.

Historical anachronism.

The Book of Judith.

If we pass from the book of Tobit to the book of Judith, and test its statements by the monuments, we shall find them equally false. It begins by alleging that Nebuchadnezzar ruled in Nineveh, and Arphaxad "reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana." But Nineveh had become "a ruinous heap" before Nebuchadnezzar had begun to rule anywhere; and he ruled, not over Assyria, but over Babylon. The contemporary king who reigned in Ekbatana was Kyaxares. Arphaxad is taken from the genealogy of Shem in Gen. x., and is a name

compounded with the word Chesed, or "Chaldean." It need hardly be added that the Chaldean and Median languages were widely different from each other, and that consequently a Median prince was not likely to bear a name which contained the Babylonian form of the word "Chaldean."

Nebuchadnezzar's wars, as described in this book, pure fictions.

The wars carried on by Nebuchadnezzar, as described in the book of Judith, are mere fictions of the imagination. His conquest of Ekbatana, and capture of its ruler, had as little foundation in fact as the assertion that he returned to "Nineveh" after doing so. The eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, in which his army is said to have overrun Syria and Palestine, and to have threatened Jerusalem, was two years after the destruction of the Jewish capital, and the murder of Gedaliah. The name of the general who is supposed to have commanded the expedition, Holofernes, is Persian, and not Babylonian; and the geographical details of the campaign only prove the ignorance of the writer. Cilicia is stated to be little more than three days' journey distant from Nineveh, Mesopotamia is placed on the western, instead of on the eastern, side of the Euphrates, and the nations of Phut, Lud, and Rosh, together with the children of Ishmael, are all grouped together in the neighbourhood of Assyria. It is scarcely necessary to observe that Lud or Lydia lay in the extreme west of Asia Minor, that Phut

The ignorance of the writer proved by his geographical details.

or Punt was the Somali coast of east Africa, that Rosh is a misinterpretation of Ezekiel xxxviii. 2, where the Hebrew word is rightly rendered "chief" in the Authorised Version, and that the descendants of Ishmael inhabited the deserts of northern and central Arabia. Similarly "Joakim, the high priest which was in those days in Jerusalem," really lived in the time of the Persian king, Darius, a century after the age of Nebuchadnezzar; and the very existence of Bethulia, the supposed city of Judith, is a matter of doubt. The book of Judith, in fact, is a tissue of historical and geographical confusions and impossibilities: in almost every particular it is contradicted by the testimony of the ancient monuments.

The Book of Judith contradicted by the monuments in almost every particular.

Classical writers.

Herodotus and Ktesias.

Let us now turn to the classical writers who have left accounts of the ancient history of the East. Among these Herodotus and Ktesias of Knidos naturally claim our first attention. Herodotus has been termed the Father of History, since the later classical conceptions of Oriental history were in great measure based upon his work. Ktesias was the physician of the Persian king, Artaxerxes, and thus had access to the state archives of Persia; on the strength of these he maintained that Herodotus had "lied," and he wrote a work with the object of contradicting most of the older historian's statements. But when confronted with contemporaneous monuments,

The monuments prove both of them to be false guides.

Herodotus and Ktesias alike turn out to be false guides. In Egypt, Herodotus placed the pyramid-builders after the time of Ramses or Sesostris, and but shortly before the age of the Ethiopians, Sabako and Tirhakah, although in reality they preceded them by centuries. Among the Egyptian kings, a Greek demi-god, and Lake Mœris in the Fayûm, are made to figure, and the work of Herodotus abounds with small inaccuracies in the explanations of Egyptian words and customs, and in the description of the products of the country. His account of Assyria and Babylonia is still more misleading. The Assyrian and Babylonian empires are confounded together, just as they are in the book of Judith; Sennacherib is called king of the Arabians, and Nebuchadnezzar is transformed into Labynêtos I. (or Nabonidos), and made the father of the real Nabonidos. The fortifications of Babylonia are ascribed to a queen Nitôkris, who bears an Egyptian name, and is placed five generations after Semiramis, a title of the Babylonian goddess Istar or Ashtoreth; while Ninos, that is, Nineveh, is supposed to be an Assyrian monarch, and termed the son of Belos or Baal

The mistake of Herodotus about the date of the pyramid builders.

His numerous small inaccuracies.

Confusing account of Babylonia and Assyria.

In the fragments of Ktesias, Assyrian history fares no better. Here, too, we find Belos, Ninos, and Semiramis, registered among the Assyrian monarchs, along with Zames or Samas, the Sun-

Similar confusion in Ktesias.

Examples of the errors of Ktesias.

god, and Arios or Nergal. The fall of the Assyrian empire is placed two centuries too early, and its last king, Sardanapallos, is imagined to have burnt himself in his palace, to save himself from falling into the hands of his enemies. As a matter of fact, Sardanapallos is the Assur-bani-pal of the inscriptions, who probably appears in Ezra iv. 10, under the Persianised form of Asnapper, and who was the son and successor of Esar-haddon. He was not the last king of Assyria; and the legend of his burning himself to death seems to have originated in the punishment of death by fire, which he inflicted on his brother, the viceroy of Babylonia, after an unsuccessful rebellion. Equally apocryphal is the statement that the overthrow of Nineveh was brought about by Arbakes the Mede and Belesys the Babylonian. As has already been observed, Kyaxares and Nabopolassar were the princes whose armies brought the doom threatened by Nahum upon the great oppressing city of western Asia.

Further examples are not needed to prove how quickly the true history of the ancient East was forgotten, and how hopelessly irreconcileable with the evidence of the monuments are the legends which were substituted for it in the pages of later writers. Where the accounts are not contemporaneous with the events, or derived from contemporaneous sources, we now know that they are

Non-contemporary accounts untrustworthy.

untrustworthy, and to a large extent fictitious. The contemporaneous sources are of course those very monuments which the industry and research of modern scholars have brought to light and interpreted. They were, however, speaking generally, inaccessible to those who, like the Jews and Greeks, did not belong to the nations that produced them. The languages and complicated systems of writing of Egypt and Babylonia were not likely to be studied by foreigners, and strangers were seldom allowed to examine the royal archives of the two countries. Indeed, in the case of Assyria it was impossible to do so: the great library of Nineveh lay buried under the ruins of the city, from which it has been disinterred during the lifetime of the present generation.

The monuments contemporary.

Inaccessible to Jews and Greeks.

Jewish writers, therefore, who lived after the fall of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, or in the days of Persian and Greek supremacy in Egypt, had little chance of consulting the contemporaneous monuments of an earlier period. Their information had to be obtained from the scanty and often misunderstood notices of Assyrian and Egyptian history in the books of the Old Testament, eked out by their own imagination and the fictions current in the works of Greek authors. Hence it is that apocryphal books, like those of Tobit and Judith, are so full of errors and anachronisms, and thus show plainly the lateness of their composition and the unhistorical character of their contents.

The sources from whence the later Jewish writers drew their materials.

Hence the errors and anachronisms of the apocryphal books.

Contrast to Scriptural accuracy.

What a contrast this is to the accuracy which, as we have seen, pervades the canonical books of the Old Testament Scriptures! While, on the one side, the progress of modern discovery has tended to destroy the credit once attached to the works of Alexandrine Jews or Greek compilers, it has, on the other side, confirmed and verified, illustrated and explained, the statements and allusions in the historical and prophetical books of Holy Writ. The one are shown to belong to a later age than that of which they profess to give an account, the other to be contemporaneous with the events which they record. We may turn to them with increased confidence and faith; confidence in the historical picture they set before our eyes, and faith in the divine message which they were commissioned to deliver.

Summing up of the argument.

To sum up. The witness of ancient monuments to the Old Testament Scriptures is of a twofold nature. It is positive, inasmuch as it proves that they are in agreement with actual facts; and negative, inasmuch as it shows how far this is from being the case with documents which lay claim to the same amount of credibility, and deal with the same subject-matter, but which really belong to a later age. The witness is therefore complete. Difficulties, no doubt, may still exist here and there, since as long as our knowledge is imperfect, there are things which cannot be satisfactorily explained;

The completeness of the testimony.

but difficulties enough have been already cleared away, confirmations sufficient of the truth of the Biblical record have been produced, to banish such doubts as may have found place in our minds, and to inspire us with a calm confidence, that with the increase of knowledge and the discovery of fresh monuments the difficulties which still remain will be diminished, and the great body of verifying facts continually enlarged. The critical objections to the truth of the Old Testament once drawn from the armoury of Greek and Latin writers can never be urged again: they have been met and overthrown once for all. The answers to them have come from papyrus and clay and stone: from the tombs of Ancient Egypt, from the mounds of Babylonia, and from the ruined palaces of the Assyrian kings.

Remaining difficulties comparatively small, and their diminution with advancing knowledge may reasonably be anticipated, and further confirmation of Old Testament history may be expected.

THE HINDU RELIGION

A SKETCH AND A CONTRAST

BY

J. MURRAY MITCHELL, M.A., LL.D.

Argument of the Tract.

The place of Hinduism—which is professed by about a hundred and ninety millions in India—among the religions of the world, and its great antiquity are pointed out.

The comparative simplicity of the system contained in the Vedas, the oldest sacred books of the Hindus, its almost entire freedom from the use of images, its gradual deterioration in the later hymns, its gradual multiplication of gods, the advance of sacerdotalism, and the increasing complexity of its religious rites are set forth.

The philosophical speculation that was carried on, the different philosophical Schools, the Buddhist reaction, its conflict with Brahmanism, its final defeat, and its influence on the victorious system are discussed.

The religious reconstruction represented by the Purânas, their theological character, the modern ritual, the introduction and rise of caste, and the treatment of women are then considered.

A contrast is drawn between the leading characteristics of Hinduism and those of Christianity, and the effect of Christian ideas on modern Hinduism is exhibited. The history of the Brahmo Somaj under Keshub Chunder Sen is given at some length.

THE HINDU RELIGION.

Introduction.

The system of religious belief which is generally called Hinduism is, on many accounts, eminently deserving of study. If we desire to trace the history of the ancient religions of the widely-extended Aryan, or Indo-European race, to which we ourselves belong, we shall find in the earlier writings of the Hindus an exhibition of it decidedly more archaic even than that which is presented in the Homeric poems. Then, the growth—the historical development—of Hinduism is not less worthy of attention than its earlier phases. It has endured for upwards of three thousand years,—no doubt undergoing very important changes, yet in many things retaining its original spirit. The progress of the system has not been lawless; and it is exceedingly instructive to note the development, and, if possible, explain it.

Hinduism deserving of study.

Its antiquity.

We are, then, to endeavour to study Hinduism

chronologically. Unless he does so, almost every man who tries to comprehend it is, at first, overwhelmed with a feeling of utter confusion and bewilderment. Hinduism spreads out before him as a vast river, or even what seems at first

> "Illimitable ocean, without bound,
> Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
> And time, and place are lost."

The discussion chronological.

But matters begin to clear up when he begins at the beginning, and notes how one thing succeeded another. It may not be possible as yet to trace all the windings of the stream, or to show at what precise points in its long course it was joined by such and such a tributary; yet much is known regarding the mighty river which every intelligent man will find it profitable to note and understand.

The Christian's duty in relation to the subject.

The Christian ought not to rest satisfied with the vague general idea that Hinduism is a form of heathenism with which he has nothing to do, save to help in destroying it. Let him try to realize the ideas of the Hindu regarding God, and the soul, and sin, and salvation, and heaven, and hell, and the many sore trials of this mortal life. He will then certainly have a much more vivid perception of the Divine origin and transcendent importance of his own religion. Farther, he will then extend a helping hand to his Eastern brother with far more of sensibility and tenderness;

and, in proportion to the measure of his loving sympathy will doubtless be the measure of his success. A yearning heart will accomplish more than the most cogent argument.

The purpose of the Tract.

In this Tract we confine ourselves to the laying down of great leading facts and principles; but these will be dwelt upon at sufficient length to give the reader, we trust, an accurate conception of the general character and history of Hinduism. We shall also briefly contrast the system with Christianity.

The history of Hinduism may be divided into three great periods,—each embracing, in round numbers, about a thousand years.

I.

The Vedas.

The most ancient writings of India.

Regarding the earliest form of Hinduism we must draw our conceptions from the Veda, or, to speak more accurately, the four Vedas. The most important of these is the Ṛig Veda; and internal evidence proves it to be the most ancient. It contains above a thousand hymns; the earliest of which may date from about the year 1500 B.C. The Hindus, or, as they called themselves, the Âryas, had by that time entered India, and were dwelling in its north-western portion, the Panjâb. The hymns, we may say, are racy of the soil.

There is no reference to the life led by the people before they crossed the Himalaya mountains, or entered by some of the passes of Afghanistan.

It would be very interesting if we could discover the pre-Vedic form of the religion. Inferentially this may, to some extent, be done by comparing the teachings of the Vedas with those contained in the books of other branches of the great Aryan family—such as the Greeks, the Romans, and above all, the Iranians (ancient Persians).

The ancient Hindus were a highly-gifted, energetic race; civilized to a considerable extent; not nomadic; chiefly shepherds and herdsmen, but also acquainted with agriculture. Commerce was not unknown; the river Indus formed a highway to the Indian Ocean, and at least the Phenicians availed themselves of it from perhaps the seventeenth century B.C., or even earlier.

The hymns are strongly religious.

As soon as we begin to study the hymns of the Veda, we are struck by their strongly religious character. Tacitly assuming that the book contains the whole of the early literature of India, many writers have expressed themselves in strong terms regarding the primitive Hindus as religious above all other races. But, as we read on, we become convinced that these poems are a selection, rather than a collection, of the literature; and the conviction grows that the selection has been made by priestly hands for priestly purposes. An acute

They are a selection.

critic has affirmed that the Vedic poems are "pre-eminently sacerdotal, and in no sense popular."[1] We can thus explain a pervading characteristic of the book which has taken most readers by surprise. There is a want of simplicity in the Veda. It is often most elaborate, artificial, over-refined,—one might even say, affected. How could these be the thoughts, or those the expressions, of the imperfectly civilized shepherds of the Panjâb? But if it be only a hymn book, with its materials arranged for liturgical purposes, the difficulty vanishes.[2] We shall accordingly take it for granted that the Veda presents only the religious thought of the ancient Hindus,—and not the whole of the religious thought, but only that of a very influential portion of the race. With all the qualifications now stated, the Veda must retain a position of high importance for all who study Indian thought and life. The religious stamp which the compilers of the Veda impressed so widely and so deeply has not been obliterated in the course of thirty centuries.

Pre-eminently sacerdotal.

Present the religious thought of the ancient Hindus.

The prevailing aspect of the religion presented in the Vedic hymns may be broadly designated as Nature-worship.

Their religion is Nature-worship.

All physical phenomena in India are invested

[1] Barth.

[2] Bergaigne, in his able treatise, *La Religion Védique*, insists earnestly on what he calls the "liturgical contamination of the myths." See Vol. III. p. 320.

Physical phenomena in India.

with a grandeur which they do not possess in northern or even southern Europe. Sunlight, moonlight, starlight, the clouds purpled with the beam of morning, or flaming in the west like fiery chariots of heaven; to behold these things in their full magnificence one ought to see them in the East. Even so the sterner phenomena of Nature, —whirlwind and tempest, lightning and thunder, flood and storm-wave, plague, pestilence, and famine; all of these oftentimes assume in the East a character of awful majesty before which man cowers in helplessness and despair. The conceptions and feelings hence arising have from the beginning powerfully affected the religion of the Hindus. Everywhere we can trace the impress of the grander manifestations of Nature—the impress of their beneficence, their beauty, their might, their mystery, or their terribleness.

Their effect on the religion.

The deities are "the bright ones," according to the language of the sacred books of India.

The Sanskrit word for *god* is *deva*, which means *bright, shining*. Of physical phenomena it was especially those connected with light that enkindled feelings of reverence. The black thundercloud that enshrouded Nature, in which the demon had bound the life-giving waters, passed away; for the glittering thunderbolt was launched, and the streams rushed down, exulting in their freedom; and then the heaven shone out again, pure and peaceful as before. But such a wonder as the Dawn —with far-streaming radiance, returning from the

land of mystery, fresh in eternal youth, and scattering the terrors of the night before her; who could sufficiently admire? And let it be remembered that in the Hindu mind the interval between admiration and adoration is exceedingly small. Yet, while it is the Dawn which has evoked the truest poetry, she has not retained the highest place in worship.

Fire much worshipped.

No divinity has fuller worship paid him than Agni, the Fire (*Ignis*). More hymns are dedicated to him than to any other being. Astonishment at the properties of fire; a sense of his condescension in that he, a mighty god, resides in their dwellings; his importance as the messenger between heaven and earth, bearing the offerings aloft; his kindness at night in repelling the darkness and the demons which it hides; all these things raised Agni to an exalted place. He is fed with pure clarified butter, and so rises heavenward in his brightness. The physical conception of fire, however, adheres to him, and he never quite ceases to be the earthly flame; yet mystical conceptions thickly gather round this root-idea; he is fire pervading all Nature; and he often becomes supreme, a god of gods.

Soma highly exalted.

All this seems natural enough; but one is hardly prepared for the high exaltation to which Soma is raised. Soma is properly the juice of a milky plant (*asclepias acida*, or *sarcostemma viminale*), which, when fermented, is intoxicating. The

simple-minded Âryas were both astonished and delighted at its effects: they liked it themselves; and they knew nothing more precious to present to their gods. Accordingly, all of these rejoice in it. Indra in particular quaffs it "like a thirsty stag;" and under its exhilarating effects he strides victoriously to battle. Soma itself becomes a god, and a very mighty one; he is even the creator and father of the gods;[1] the king of gods and men;[2] all creatures are in his hand. It is surely extraordinary that the Âryas could apply such hyperbolical laudations to the liquor which they had made to trickle into the vat, and which they knew to be the juice of a plant they had cut down on the mountains and pounded in a mortar; and that intoxication should be confounded with inspiration. Yet of such aberrations we know the human mind is perfectly capable.

Soma becomes a very mighty god.

We have first referred to Agni and Soma, as being the only divinities of highest rank which still retain their physical character. The worship paid to them was of great antiquity; for it is also prescribed in the Persian Avesta, and must have been common to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryan race before the Hindus entered India. But we can inferentially go still further back, and speak of a deity common to the Greeks, Romans, Persians, and Hindus. This deity is Varuṇa; the most

Connection with Persian, Greek, and Roman systems.

[1] R. V. ix. 42, 4. [2] ix. 97, 24.

remarkable personality in the Veda. The name, which is etymologically connected with Οὐρανός, signifies "the encompasser," and is applied to heaven —especially the all-encompassing, extreme vault of heaven—not the nearer sky, which is the region of cloud and storm. It is in describing Varuṇa that the Veda rises to the greatest sublimity which it ever reaches. A mysterious presence, a mysterious power, a mysterious knowledge amounting almost to omniscience, are ascribed to Varuṇa. The winkings of men's eyes are numbered by him. He upholds order, both physical and moral, throughout the universe. The winds are his breath, the sun his eye, the sky his garment. He rewards the good, and punishes the wicked. Yet to the truly penitent he is merciful. It is absolutely confounding to pass from a hymn that celebrates the serene majesty and awful purity of Varuṇa to one filled with measureless laudations of Soma or Agni. Could conceptions of divinity so incongruous co-exist? That they could not spring up in the same mind, or even in the same age, is abundantly manifest. And, as we have mentioned, the loftier conceptions of divinity are unquestionably the earlier. It is vain to speak, as certain writers do, of religion gradually refining itself, as a muddy stream can run itself pure; Hinduism resembles the Ganges, which when it breaks forth from its mountain cradle at Hardwâr, is com-

Varuna, the god of heaven.

The sublimity of the Vedic description of him.

Contrast with the laudations of Agni and Soma.

The loftier conceptions of divinity the earlier.

paratively pellucid, but, as it rolls on, becomes more and more muddy, discoloured, and unclean.[1]

Various scholars affirm that Varuṇa, in more ancient, pre-Vedic times, held a position still higher than the very high one which he still retains. This is probable; indeed it is certain that, before later divinities had intruded, he held a place of unrivalled majesty. But, in the Vedas, Indra is a more conspicuous figure. He corresponds to the Jupiter Pluvius of the Romans. In north-western India, after the burning heat, the annual return of the rains was hailed with unspeakable joy; it was like life succeeding death. The clouds that floated up from the ocean were at first thin and light; ah! a hostile demon was in them carrying off the healing waters, and not permitting them to fall; but the thunderbolt of Indra flashed; the demon was driven away howling, and the emancipated streams refreshed the thirsty earth. Varuṇa was not indeed dethroned, but he was obscured, by the achievements of the warlike Indra; and the super-sensuous, moral conceptions that were connected with the former gradually faded from

Indra.

His achievements.

[1] The religion of the Indo-European race, while still united, "recognized a supreme God; an organizing God; almighty omniscient, moral . . . . This conception was a heritage of the past . . . . The supreme God was originally the God of heaven. So Darmesteter: *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1879. Roth had previously written with much learning and acuteness to the same effect.

the minds of the people, and Varuṇa ere long became quite a subordinate figure in the Pantheon.

Number and relations of deities uncertain.

The deities are generally said in the Veda to be "thrice eleven" in number. We also hear of three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine. There is no *system*, no fixed order in the hierarchy; a deity who, in one hymn, is quite subordinate, becomes in another supreme; almost every god becomes supreme in turn; in one hymn he is the son of some deity, and in another that deity's father, and so (if logic ruled) his own grandfather. Every poet exalts his favourite god, till the mind becomes utterly bewildered in tracing the relationships.

We have already spoken of Agni, Varuṇa, and Indra, as well as Soma. Next to these in importance may come the deities of light, viz., the Sun, the Dawn, and the two Aśvina or beams that accompany the dawn. The Winds come next. The Earth is a goddess. The Waters are goddesses. It is remarkable that the Stars are very little mentioned; and the Moon holds no distinguished place.

Hardly any fetishism in the Rig Veda.

In the religion of the Ṛig Veda we hardly see fetishism—if by fetishism we mean the worship of small physical objects, such as stones, shells, plants, etc., which are believed to be charged (so to speak) with divinity; though this appears in the fourth Veda—the Atharva. But even in the Ṛig Veda, almost any object that is grand, beneficent, or

terrible, may be adored; and implements associated with worship are themselves worshipped. Thus, the war-chariot, the plough, the furrow, etc., are prayed to.

Early tendency towards pantheism.

A pantheistic conception of Nature was also present in the Indian mind from very early times, although its development was later. Even in the earliest hymns, any portion of Nature with which man is brought into close relation may be adored.[1]

Reverence of the dead.

We must on no account overlook the reverence paid to the dead. The *Pitṛis (patres)* or Fathers are frequently referred to in the Veda. They are clearly distinguished from the *devas* or gods. In later writings they are also distinguished from men, as having been created separately from them; but this idea does not appear in the Veda. Yama, the first mortal, travelled the road by which none returns, and now drinks the Soma in the innermost of heaven, surrounded by the other Fathers. These come also, along with the gods, to the banquets prepared for them on earth, and, sitting on the sacred grass, rejoice in the exhilarating draught.

The subjects of the hymns of the Rig Veda.

The hymns of the Ṛig V. celebrate the power, exploits, or generosity of the deity invoked; and sometimes his personal beauty. The praises lavished on the god not only secured his favour, but increased his power to help the worshipper.

[1] *Texts*, v. 412.

There is one prayer (so-called) which is esteemed pre-eminently holy; generally called—from the metre in which it is composed—the Gâyatrî.[1] It may be rendered thus: The holiest prayer.

"Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the Divine Sun (or Vivifier); may he enlighten our understandings!"

It has always been frequently repeated in important rites.

So far we have referred almost exclusively to the Ṛig Veda. The next in importance is the Atharva, sometimes termed the Brahma Veda; which we may render the Veda of incantations. It contains six hundred and seventy hymns. Of these a few are equal to those in the Ṛig V.; but, as a whole, the Atharva is far inferior to the other in a moral and spiritual point of view. It abounds in imprecations, charms for the destruction of enemies, and so forth. Talismans, plants, or gems, are invoked, as possessed of irresistible might to kill or heal. The deities are often different from those of the Ṛig V. The Atharva manifests a great dread of malignant beings, whose wrath it deprecates. We have thus simple demon-worship. How is this great falling-off to be explained? In one of two ways. Either a considerable time intervened between the composition of the two books, during which the original faith

Atharva Veda.

Inferior morally and spiritually to the Rig Veda.

Explanation of deterioration.

[1] Rig. V. iii. 62, 10.

had rapidly degenerated, probably through contact with aboriginal races who worshipped dark and sanguinary deities; or else there had existed from the beginning two forms of the religion—the higher of which is embodied in the hymns of the Ṛig V., and the lower in the Atharva. We believe the latter explanation to be correct; although doubtless the superstitions of the aborigines must all along have exerted an influence on the faith of the invaders.

The offerings.

The offerings presented to the gods consisted chiefly of clarified butter, curdled milk, rice, cakes, and fermented Soma juice, which was generally mixed with water or milk. All was thrown into the fire, which bore them or their essences to the gods. The Soma was also sprinkled on the sacred grass, which was strown on the floor; and on which the gods and fathers were invited to come and seat themselves, that they might enjoy the cheering beverage. The remainder was drunk by the officiating priests. The offerings were understood to nourish and gratify the gods as corporeal beings.

Animal victims.

Animal victims were also offered up. We hear of sheep, goats, bulls, cows, and buffaloes being sacrificed, and sometimes in large numbers. But the great offering was the Aśvamedha, or sacrifice of the horse. The body of the horse was hacked to pieces; the fragments were dressed—

part was boiled, part roasted; some of the flesh was then eaten by the persons present, and the rest was offered to the gods. Tremendous was the potency—at least as stated in later times—of a hundred such sacrifices; it rendered the offerer equal or superior to the gods;—even the mighty Indra trembled for his sovereignty, and strove to hinder the consummation of the awful rite.

Human sacrifice. Human sacrifice was not unknown; though there are very few allusions to it in the earlier hymns.

Sacrifice deemed of very high importance. Even from the first, however, the rite of sacrifice occupies a very high place; and allusions to it are exceedingly frequent. The observances connected with it are said to be the "first religious rites." Sacrifice was early believed to be expiatory; it removed sin. It was substitutionary; the victim stood in place of the offerer. All order in the universe depends upon it; it is "the nave of the world-wheel." Sometimes Vishṇu is said to be the sacrifice; sometimes even the Supreme Being himself is so. Elaborated ideas and a complex ritual, which we could have expected to grow up only in the course of ages, appear from very early times. We seem compelled to draw the inference that sacrifice formed an essential, and very important, part of the pre-Vedic faith.[1]

[1] The rites, says Haug, "must have existed from times immemorial." *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, pp. 7, 9.

In the Veda, worship is a kind of barter. In exchange for praises and offerings, the deity is asked to bestow favours. Temporal blessings are implored, such as food, wealth, life, children, cows, horses, success in battle, the destruction of enemies, and so forth. Not much is said regarding sin, and the need of forgiveness. A distinguished scholar[1] has said that "the religious notion of sin is wanting altogether;" but this affirmation is decidedly too sweeping.

No image-worship.

The worship exemplified in the Veda is not image-worship. Images of the fire, or the winds, or the waters, could hardly be required; and, while the original Nature-worship lasted, idols must have been nearly unknown. Yet, the description of various deities is so precise and full that it seems to be probably drawn from visible representations of them.

No public worship.

Worship was personal and domestic; not, in any way, public. Indeed, two men praying at the same time had to pray quite apart, so that neither might disturb the other. Each dealt with heaven, so to speak, solely on his own behalf.

No temples.

We hear of no places set apart as temples in Vedic times.

A Veda consists of two parts called *Mantra* or *Sanhitâ*, and *Brâhmaṇa*. The first is composed of

[1] Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 38.

hymns. The second is a statement of ritual, and is generally in prose. The existing Brâhmaṇas are several centuries later than the great body of the Hymns, and were probably composed when the Hindus had crossed the Indus, and were advancing along the Gangetic valley. The oldest may be about the date of 800 or 700 B.C.

The treatises on ritual.

The Brâhmaṇas are very poor, both in thought and expression. They have hardly their match in any literature for "pedantry and downright absurdity."[1] Poetical feeling, and even religious feeling, seem gone; all is dead and dry as dust. By this time the Sanskrit language had ceased to be generally understood. The original texts could hardly receive accessions; the most learned man could do little more than interpret, or perhaps misinterpret, them. The worshipper looked on; he worshipped now by proxy. Thus the priest had risen greatly in importance. He alone knew the sacred verses and the sacred rites. An error in the pronunciation of the mystic text might bring destruction on the worshipper: what could he do but lean upon the priest? The latter could say the prayers, if he could not pray. All this worked powerfully for the elevation of the Brahmans, the "men of prayer:" they steadily grew into a class, a caste; and into this no one could enter who was not of priestly descent.

Growth of priestly power.

[1] Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 389

Schools for the study of sacred books, rites, and traditions.

Schools were now found necessary for the study of the sacred books, rites, and traditions. The importance which these attach to theology—doctrine—is very small: the externals of religion are all in all. The rites, in fact, now threw the very gods into the shade; everything depended on their due performance. And thus the Hindu ritual gradually grew up into a stupendous system, the most elaborate, complex, and burdensome which the earth has seen.

Moral character of the Veda.

It is time, however, to give a brief estimate of the moral character of the Veda. The first thing that strikes us is its inconsistency. Some hymns—especially those addressed to Varuṇa—rise as high as Gentile conceptions regarding deity ever rose; others—even in the Ṛig V—sink miserably low; and in the Atharva we find, "even in the lowest depth, a lower still."

Indra supersedes Varuna.

The character of Indra—who has displaced or overshadowed Varuṇa[1]—has no high attributes. He is "voracious;" his "inebriety is most intense;" he "dances with delight in battle." His worshippers supply him abundantly with the drink he loves; and he supports them against their foes, ninety and more of whose cities he has destroyed. We do not know that these foes, the Dasyus, were morally worse than the intrusive Âryas; but the feelings of the latter towards the former were of

[1] "The haughty Indra takes precedence of all gods." Rig V. 1, 55.

unexampled ferocity. Here is one passage out of multitudes similar:

"Hurl thy hottest thunderbolt upon them! Uproot them! Cleave them asunder! O Indra, overpower, subdue, slay the demon! Pluck him up! Cut him through the middle! Crush his head!"

Indra, if provided with Soma, is always indulgent to his votaries; he supports them *per fas et nefas.* Varuṇa, on the other hand, is grave, just, and to wicked men, severe.[1] The supersession of Varuṇa by Indra, then, is easily understood. We see the principle on which it rests stated in the Old Testament. "Ye cannot serve the Lord," said Joshua to the elders of Israel; "for He is a holy God." Even so Jeremiah points sorrowfully to the fact that the Pagan nations clung to their false gods, while Israel was faithless to the true. As St. Paul expresses it: "they did not like to retain God in their knowledge." Unless this principle is fully taken into account, we cannot understand the historical development of Hinduism.

Deterioration begins early.

The Veda frequently ascribes to the gods, to use the language of Max Müller, "sentiments and passions unworthy of deity." In truth, except in the case of Varuṇa, there is not one divinity that is possessed of pure and elevated attributes.

Varuna the only divinity possessed of pure and elevated attributes.

[1] "These two personages [Indra and Varuṇa] sum up the two conceptions of divinity, between which the religious consciousness of the Vedic Aryans seems to oscillate."—Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, Vol. III. p. 149.

II.

Philosophy; and Ritualism.

Speculation begins.

During the Vedic period—certainly towards its conclusion—a tendency to speculation had begun to appear. Probably it had all along existed in the Hindu mind, but had remained latent during the stirring period when the people were engaged in incessant wars. Climate, also, must have affected the temperament of the race; and, as the Hindus steadily pressed down the valley of the Ganges into warmer regions, their love of repose and contemplative quietism would continually deepen. And when the Brahmans became a fully developed hierarchy, lavishly endowed, with no employment except the performance of religious ceremonies, their minds could avoid stagnation only by having recourse to speculative thought.

Rise of asceticism.

Again, asceticism has a deep root in human nature; earnest souls, conscious of their own weakness, will fly from the temptations of the world. Various causes thus led numbers of men to seek a life of seclusion; they dwelt chiefly in forests, and there they revolved the everlasting problems of existence, creation, the soul, and God. The lively Greeks, for whom, with all their high intellectual endowments, a happy sensuous existence was nearly all

in all, were amazed at the numbers in Northern India, who appeared weary of the world and indifferent to life itself. By and for these recluses were gradually composed the Aranyakas, or forest treatises; and out of these grew a series of more regular works, called Upanishads.[1] At least 250 of these are known to exist. They have been called "guesses at truth;" they are more so than formal solutions of great questions. Many of them are unintelligible rhapsodies; others rise almost to sublimity. They frequently contradict each other; the same writer sometimes contradicts himself. One prevailing characteristic is all-important; their doctrine is pantheism. The pantheism is sometimes not so much a coldly reasoned system as an aspiration, a yearning, a deep-felt need of something better than the mob of gods who came in the train of Indra, and the darker deities who were still crowding in. Even in spite of the counteracting power of the Gospel, mysticism has run easily into pantheism in Europe; and orthodox Christians sometimes slide unconsciously into it—or at least into its language.[2] But as has been already noted,

Upanishads

They are pantheistic

[1] The meaning of the term is not quite certain. *Sessions*, or *Instructions*, may perhaps be the rendering. So Monier Williams.

[2] For example, Wordsworth:

> Thou, Thou alone
> Art everlasting, and the blessed Spirits
> Which Thou includest, as the sea her waves.
>
> *Excursion*, Book IV.

a strain of pantheism existed in the Hindu mind from early times.

Accordingly, these hermit sages, these mystic dreamers, soon came to identify the human soul with God. And the chief end of man was to seek that the stream derived from God should return to its source, and ceasing to wander through the wilderness of this world, should find repose in the bosom of the illimitable deep, the One, the All. The Brahmans attached the Upanishads to the Veda proper, and they soon came to be regarded as its most sacred part. In this way the influence these treatises have exercised has been immense · more than any other portion of the earlier Hindu writings, they have moulded the thoughts of succeeding generations. Philosophy had thus begun.

Six philosophic schools.

The speculations of which we see the commencement and progress in the Upanishads were finally developed and classified in a series of writings called the six Śâstras or *darśanas*. These constitute the regular, official philosophy of India. They are without much difficulty reducible to three leading schools of thought—the Nyâya, the Sânkhya, and the Vedânta.

Roundly and speaking generally, we may characterize these systems as theistic, atheistic, and pantheistic respectively.

The Nyâya.

It is doubtful, however, whether the earlier form of the Nyâya was theistic or not. The later form

is so; but it says nothing of the moral attributes of God, nor of His government. The chief end of man, according to the Nyâya, is deliverance from pain; and this is to be attained by cessation from all action, whether good or bad.

The Sânkhya declares matter to be self-existent and eternal. Soul is distinct from matter, and also eternal. When it attains true knowledge it is liberated from matter and from pain. The Sânkhya holds the existence of God to be without proof. The Sânkhya.

But the leading philosophy of India is unquestionably the Vedânta. The name means "the end or scope of the Veda;" and if the Upanishads were the Veda, instead of treatises tacked on to it, the name would be correct: for the Vedânta, like the Upanishads, inculcates pantheism. The Vedânta.

The form which this philosophy ultimately assumed is well represented in the treatise called the Vedânta Sâra, or Essence of the Vedânta. A few extracts will suffice to exhibit its character. "The unity of the soul and God; this is the scope of all Vedânta treatises." We have frequent references made to the "great saying" *Tat twam, i.e.*, That art thou, or Thou art God; and *Aham Brahma, i.e.*, I am God. Again it is said, "The whole universe is God." God is "existence (or more exactly, an existent thing[1]), knowledge, and joy." Knowledge, not a knower; joy, not one who rejoices.

[1] Or, the thing that really is—the ὄντως ὄν.

It teaches absolute idealism.

Everything else has only a seeming existence, which is in consequence of ignorance (or illusion) Ignorance makes the soul think itself different from God; and it also "projects" the appearance of an external world.

"He who knows God becomes God." "When He, the first and last is discerned, one's own acts are annihilated."

Meditation, without distinction of subject and object, is the highest form of thought. It is a high attainment to say, "I am God;" but the consummation is when thought exists without an object.

There are four states of the soul—waking, dreaming, dreamless sleep, and the "fourth state," or pure intelligence. The waking man is in dense ignorance; in sleep he is freed from part of this ignorance; in dreamless sleep he is freed from still more; but the consummation is when he attains something beyond this, which it seems cannot be explained, and is therefore called the fourth state.

Doctrine of "the Self."

The name, which in later writings is most frequently given to the "one without a second,"[1] is Âtman, which properly means Self. Much is said of the way in which the self in each man is to recover, or discover, its unity with the Supreme or real self. For as the one sun shining in the heavens is reflected, often in distorted images, in

[1] Ekamadvitiyam.

multitudes of vessels filled with water, so the one Self is present in all human minds.[1] There is not —perhaps there could not be—consistency in the statements of the relation of the seeming to the real. In most of the older books a practical, or conventional, existence is admitted of the Self in each man, but not a real existence. But when the conception is fully formulated, the finite world is not admitted to exist, save as a mere illusion. All phenomena are a play—a play without plot or purpose, which the Absolute plays with itself.[2] This is surely transcendent transcendentalism. One regrets that speculation did not take one step more, and declare that the illusion was itself illusory. Then we should have gone round the circle, and returned to *sensus communis*. We must be pardoned if we seem to speak disrespectfully of such fantastic speculations; we desire rather to speak regretfully of the many generations of men which successively occupied themselves with such unprofitable dreams; for this kind of thought is traceable even from Vedic days. It is more fully developed in the Upanishads. In them occurs the classical sentence so frequently quoted in later literature, which declares that the Absolute being is the "one [thing] without a second."[3]

Inconsistent statements.

[1] This illustration is in the mouth of every Hindu disputant at the present day.

[2] Barth, p. 75.

[3] Ekamadvitîyam.

The Gîtâ

The book which perhaps above all others has moulded the mind of India in more recent days is the Bhagavad Gîtâ, or Song of the Holy One. It is written in stately and harmonious verse, and has achieved the same task for Indian philosophy as Lucretius did for ancient Epicureanism.[1] It is eclectic, and succeeds, in a sort of way, in forcing the leading systems of Indian thought into seeming harmony.

Some have thought they could discern in these daring speculations indications of souls groping after God, and saddened because of the difficulty of finding Him. Were it so, all our sympathies would at once be called forth. But no; we see in these writings far more of intellectual pride than of spiritual sadness. Those ancient dreamers never learned their own ignorance. They scarcely recognized the limitations of the human mind. And when reason could take them no farther, they supplemented it by dreams and ecstasy until, in the Yoga philosophy, they rushed into systematized mysticism and magic, far more extravagant than the wildest *theurgy* of the degraded Neoplatonism of the Roman empire.

Intellectual pride.

A learned writer thus expresses himself:

"The only one of the six schools that seems to recognize the

1 Volui tibi suaviloquenti
Carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram
Et quasi Musæo dulci contingere melle.

doctrine of divine providence is the Yoga. It thus seems that the consistent followers of these systems can have, in their perfected state, no religion, no action, and no moral character."[1]

And now to take a brief review of the whole subject. The Hindu sages were men of acute and patient thought; but their attempt to solve the problem of the Divine and human natures, of human destiny and duty, has ended in total failure. Each system baseless, and all mutually conflicting; systems cold and cheerless, that frown on love and virtuous exertion, and speak of annihilation or its equivalent, absorption, as our highest hope: such is the poor result of infinite speculation. "The world by wisdom knew not God." Oh that India would learn the much-needed lesson of humility which the experience of ages ought to teach her!

Indian philosophy a sad failure.

While speculation was thus busy, Sacerdotalism was also continually extending its influence. The Brahman, the man of prayer, had made himself indispensable in all sacred rites. He alone—as we have seen—knew the holy texts; he alone could rightly pronounce the words of awful mystery and power on which depended all weal or woe. On all religious occasions the priest must be called in, and, on all occasions, implicitly obeyed. For a considerable time the princes struggled against the encroachments of the priests; but, in the end, they were completely vanquished. Never was sacer-

Sacerdotalism.

[1] Dr. J. Muir, in *North British Review*, No. xlix. p. 224.

The tyranny of sacerdotalism.

dotal tyranny more absolute; the proudest pope in mediæval times never lorded it over Western Christendom with such unrelenting rigour as the Brahmans exercised over both princes and people. The feeling of the priests is expressed in a well-known stanza:

> "All the world is subject to the gods; the gods are subject to the holy texts; the holy texts are subject to the Brahman; therefore the Brahman is my God."

Yes, the sacred man could breathe the spell which made earth and hell and heaven itself to tremble. He therefore logically called himself an earthly god. Indeed, the Brahman is always logical. He draws conclusions from premises with iron rigour of reasoning; and with side-issues he has nothing to do. He stands upon his rights. Woe to the being—god or man—who comes in conflict with him!

Ritual becomes extravagant.

The priests naturally multiplied religious ceremonies, and made ritual the soul of worship. Sacrifice especially assumed still more and more exaggerated forms — becoming more protracted, more expensive, more bloody. A hecatomb of victims was but a small offering. More and more awful powers were ascribed to the rite.

Reaction.

But the tension was too great, and the bow snapped. Buddhism arose. We may call this remarkable system the product of the age—an inevitable rebellion against intolerable sacerdotalism;

and yet we must not overlook the importance of the very distinct and lofty personality of Buddha (Sâkya Muni) as a power moulding it into shape.

Buddhism.

Wherever it extended, it effected a vast revolution in Indian thought. Thus, in regard to the institution of caste, Buddha did not attack it, —he did not, it would appear, even formally renounce it; as a mere social institution, he seems to have acknowledged it; but then he held that all the *religious* were freed from its restrictions. "My law," said he, "is a law of mercy for all;" and forthwith he proceeded to admit men of every caste into the closest fellowship with himself and his followers. Then, he preached—he, though not a Brahman—in the vernacular languages,—an immense innovation, which made his teaching popular.

Moral elements of this system.

He put in the forefront of his system certain great fundamental principles of morality. He made religion consist in duty, not rites. He reduced duty mainly to mercy or kindness towards all living beings — a marvellous generalization. This set aside all slaughter of animals. The mind of the princes and people was weary of priestcraft and ritualism; and the teaching of the great reformer was most timely. Accordingly his doctrine spread with great rapidity; and for a long time it seemed likely to prevail over Brahmanism. But various causes gradually combined against it Partly, it was

Conflict with Brahmanism.

Victory of Brahmanism.

overwhelmed by its own luxuriance of growth; partly, Brahmanism, which had all along maintained an intellectual superiority, adopted, either from conviction or policy, most of the principles of Buddhism, and skilfully supplied some of its main deficiencies. Thus the Brahmans retained their position; and, at least nominally, their religion won the day.

III.

Reconstruction. Modern Hinduism.

Revival, in an altered form, of Hinduism.

But the Hinduism that grew up, as Buddhism faded from Indian soil, was widely different from the system with which early Buddhism had contended. Hinduism, as it has been developed during the last thousand or twelve hundred years, resembles a stupendous far-extended building, or series of buildings, which is still receiving additions, while portions have crumbled and are crumbling into ruin. Every conceivable style of architecture, from that of the stately palace to the meanest hut, is comprehended in it. On a portion of the structure here or there, the eye may rest with pleasure; but, as a whole, it is an unsightly, almost monstrous, pile. Or, dismissing figures, we must describe it as the most extraordinary creation which the world has seen. A jumble of all things; polytheistic pantheism; much of Buddhism; something ap-

parently of Christianity, but terribly disfigured; a science wholly outrageous; shreds of history twisted into wild mythology; the bold poetry of the older books understood as literal prose; any local deity, any demon of the aborigines, however hideous, identified with some accredited Hindu divinity; any custom, however repugnant to common sense or common decency, accepted and explained;—in a word, later Hinduism has been omnivorous; it has partially absorbed and assimilated every system of belief, every form of worship, with which it has come in contact. Only to one or two things has it remained inflexibly true. It has steadily upheld the proudest pretensions of the Brahman; and it has never relaxed the sternest restrictions of Caste. We cannot wonder at the severe judgment pronounced on Hinduism by nearly every Western author. According to Macaulay, "all is hideous and grotesque and ignoble;" and the calmer De Tocqueville maintains that "Hinduism is perhaps the only system of belief that is worse than having no religion at all."[1]

Only the position of the Brahman and the restrictions of caste retained.

When a modern Hindu is asked what are the sacred books of his religion, he generally answers: "The Vedas, the Śâstras (*i.e.* philosophical systems), and the Purânas." Some authorities add the Tantras.

The modern form of Hinduism is exhibited

[1] *Miscellaneous Writings* (Macmillan, 1861), Vol. I., p. 77.

chiefly in the eighteen Purânas, and an equal number of Upa-purânas (minor puranas).[1]

The Purânas

When we compare the religion embodied in the Puranas with that of Vedic times, we are startled at the magnitude of the change. The Pantheon is largely new; old deities have been superseded; other deities have taken their place. There has been both accretion from without and evolution from within. The thirty-three gods of the Vedas have been fantastically raised to three hundred and thirty millions. Śiva, Durgâ, Râma, Kṛishṇa, Kâlî—unknown in ancient days—are now mighty divinities; Indra is almost entirely overlooked; and Varuṇa has been degraded from his lofty throne, and turned into a regent of the waters.

New deities, rites, and customs.

The worship of the Linga (phallus) has been introduced. So has the great dogma of Transmigration; which has stamped a deeper impress on later Hindu mind than almost any other doctrine. Caste is fully established; though in Vedic days scarcely, if at all, recognized. The dreadful practice of widow-burning has been brought in, and this by a most daring perversion of the Vedic texts. Woman, in fact, has fallen far below the position assigned her in early days.

One of the notable things in connection with the

[1] But the truth is that every man is accounted a good Hindu who keeps the rules of caste, and pays due respect to the Brahmans. What he believes, or disbelieves, is of little or no consequence.

reconstruction of Hinduism is the position it gives to the Trimurtti, or triad of gods—Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Śiva. Something like an anticipation of this had been presented in the later Vedic times: Fire, Air, and the Sun (Agni, Vâyu, and Sûrya) being regarded by the commentator[1] as summing up the divine energies. But in the Vedas the deities often go in pairs; and little stress should be laid on the idea of a Vedic triad. That idea, however, came prominently forward in later days. The worship both of Vishṇu and Śiva may have existed, from ancient times, as popular rites not acknowledged by the Brahmans; but both of these deities were now fully recognized. The god Brahmâ was an invention of the Brahmans; he was no real divinity of the people, and has hardly ever been actually worshipped. It is usual to designate Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Śiva as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer respectively; but the generalization is by no means well maintained in the Hindu books.

The Trimurtti, a triad of gods.

The Purânas are in general violently sectarian; some being Vishnuite, others Śivite. It is in connexion with Vishṇu, especially, that the idea of incarnation becomes prominent. The Hindu term is *Avatâra*, literally, *descent;* the deity is represented as descending from heaven to earth, for the vindication of truth and righteousness, or to use the words ascribed to Kṛishna:

The Avatâras.

[1] Yâska; probably in the 5th century B.C.

For the preservation of the good, and the destruction of the wicked,
For the establishment of religion, I am born from age to age.

The "descents" of Vishnu.

The "descents" of Vishṇu are usually reckoned ten. Of these by far the most celebrated are those of Râma and Krishna. The great importance attached to these two deities has been traced to the influence of Buddhism. That system had exerted immense power in consequence of the gentle and attractive character ascribed to Buddha. The older gods were dim, distant, and often stern; some near, intelligible, and loving divinity was longed for. Buddha was a brother man, and yet a quasi-deity; and hearts longing for sympathy and succour were strongly attracted by such a personality.

The god Râma.

The character of Râma—or Râmachandra—is possessed of some high qualities. The great poem in which it is described at fullest length—the Râmâyaṇa of Valmîki—seems to have been an alteration, made in the interests of Hinduism, of early Buddhist legends; and the Buddhist quality of gentleness has not disappeared in the history.[1] Râma, however, is far from a perfect character. His wife Sîtâ is possessed of much womanly grace, and every wifely virtue; and the sorrowful story of the warrior-god and his faithful spouse has appealed to deep sympathies in the human breast.

[1] Weber thinks that Christian elements may have been introduced, in course of time, into the representation.

The worship of Râma has seldom, if ever, degenerated into lasciviousness. In spite, however, of the charm thrown around the life of Râma and Sîtâ by the genius of Valmîki and Tulsidâs,[1] it is Krishna, not Râma, that has attained the greatest popularity among the "descents" of Vishṇu.

Krishna.

Very different morally from that of Râma is the character of Kṛishṇa. While Râma is but a partial manifestation of divinity, Krishna is a full manifestation;—yet what a manifestation! He is represented as full of naughty tricks in his youth, although exercising the highest powers of deity; and, when he grows up, his conduct is grossly immoral and disgusting. It is most startling to think that this being is by grave writers—like the authors of the Bhagavad Gîtâ and the Bhâgavata Purâṇa—made the highest of the gods, or indeed the only real God. Stranger still, if possible, is the probability that the early life of Krishna—in part, at least—is a dreadful travesty of the early life of Christ, as given in the apocryphal Gospels, especially the Gospel of the Infancy. The falling off in the apocryphal Gospels, when compared with the canonical, is truly sad; but the falling off even from the apocryphal ones, in the Hindu books, is altogether sickening.[2]

His early life a travesty of the life of Christ, according to the Gospel of the Infancy.

[1] His Ramayan was written in Hindi verse in the sixteenth century.

[2] When Jhânsi was captured in the times of the great mutiny,

A very striking characteristic of modern Hinduism is what is termed *bhakti*, or devotion. There are three great ways of attaining to salvation: *karma mârga*, or the way of ceremonial works; *jnâna mârga*, or the way of knowledge; and *bhakti mârga*, or the way of devotion.

Doctrine of *bhakti* introduced.

The notion of trust in the gods was familiar to the mind of India from Vedic days, but the deity was indistinct and unsympathetic, and there could hardly be love and attachment to him. But there now arose the doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion), which resolved religion into emotion. It came into the Hindu system rather abruptly; and many learned men have traced its origin to the influence of Christianity. This is quite possible; but perhaps the fact is hardly proved. Contact with Christianity, however, probably accelerated a process which had previously begun. At all events the system of *bhakti* has had, and still has, great sway in India—particularly in Bengal, among the followers of Chaitanya, and the large body of people in Western India who style themselves *Vaishnavas*

Influence of the system.

English officers were disgusted to see the walls of the queen's palace covered with what they described as "grossly obscene" pictures. There is little or no doubt that these were simply representations of the acts of Krishna. Therefore to the Hindu queen they were religious pictures. When questioned about such things the Brahmans reply that deeds which would be wicked in men, were quite right in Krishna; who, being God, could do whatever he pleased.

or *Bhaktas* (devotees). The popular poetry of Mahârâshtra, as exemplified in such poets as Tukârâma, is an impassioned inculcation of devotion to Viṭhobâ of Pandharpur, who is a manifestation of Krishna. Into the *bhakti* system of Western India Buddhist elements have entered; and the school of devotees is often denominated Bauddha-Vaishnava. Along with extravagant idolatry it inculcates generally—at least in the Marâthâ country—a pure morality;—and the latter it apparently owes to Buddhism. Yet there are many sad lapses from purity. Almost of necessity the worship of Krishna led to corruption. The hymns became erotic; and movements hopeful at their commencement—like that of Chaitanya of Bengal, in the 16th century—soon grievously fell off in character. The attempt to make religion consist of emotion without thought—of *bhakti* without *jnâna*—had disastrous issues. Coincident with the development of *bhakti* was the exaltation of the *guru*, or religious teacher, which soon amounted to deification;—a change traceable from about the 12th century A.D.

Mixed with Buddhist elements.

Exaltation of the *guru*

When pressed on the subject of Krishna's evil deeds, many are anxious to explain them as allegorical representations of the union between the divinity and true worshippers; but some interpret them in the most literal way possible. This is done especially by the followers of Vallabha

Explanations of Krishna's evil deeds.

Achârya.[1] These men attained a most unenviable notoriety about twenty years ago, when a case was tried in the Supreme Court of Bombay, which revealed the practice of the most shameful licentiousness by the religious teachers and their female followers—and this as a part of worship! The disgust excited was so great and general that it was believed the influence of the sect was at an end; but this hope unhappily has not been realized.

Reforms attempted.

Reformers have arisen from time to time in India; men who saw the deplorable corruption of religion, and strove to restore it to what they considered purity. Next to Buddha we may mention Kabir; to whom are ascribed many verses still popular. Probably the doctrine of the unity of God, as maintained by the Mohammadans, had impressed him. He opposed idolatry, caste, and Brahmanical assumption. Yet his monotheism was a kind of pantheism. His date may be the beginning of the fifteenth century. Nânak followed, and founded the religion of the Sikhs. His sacred book, the *Granth*, is mainly pantheistic: it dwells earnestly on devotion—especially devotion to the *guru*. The Sikhs now seem slowly relapsing into idolatry. In truth, the history of all attempts at reformation in India has been most discouraging. Sect after sect has successively risen to some elevation above the prevalent idolatry; and then

Kabir.

Nânak.

[1] Born probably in 1649.

gradually, as by some irresistible gravitation, it has sunk back into the *mare magnum* of Hinduism. If we regard experience, purification from within is hopeless; the struggle for it is only a repetition of the toil of Sisyphus, and always with the same sad issue. Deliverance must come from without—from the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Failure of all reforms.

We mentioned the Tantras as exerting great influence in later days.[1] In these the worship of Śiva, and still more, that of his wife is predominant. The deity is now supposed to possess a double nature,—one quiescent, one active; the latter being regarded as the *śakti* or energy of the god, otherwise called his wife. The origin of the system is not fully explained: nor is the date of its rise ascertained. The worship assumes wild, extravagant forms,—generally obscene, sometimes bloody. It is divided into two schools—that of the right hand and that of the left. The former runs into mysticism and magic in complicated observances; and the latter into the most appalling licentiousness. The worship of the Śakti, or female principle, has become a most elaborate system. The beings adored are "the most outrageous divinities which man has ever conceived."[2] Sorcery began early

Influence of the Tantras.

Worship of the Śakti.

[1] Râjâ Nârâyan Basu (Bose), in enumerating the sacred books of Hinduism, excluded the philosophical systems, and included the Tantras. He was and, we believe, is a leading man in the Âdi Brahma Samâj.

[2] Barth, as above, p. 202.

in India; but it is in connection with this system that it attains to full development. Human sacrifices are a normal part of the worship, when fully performed. We cannot go farther into detail. It is profoundly saddening to think that such abominations are committed; it is still more saddening to think that they are performed as a part of divine worship. Conscience, however, is so far alive that these detestable rites are practised only in secret; and few, if any, are willing to confess that they have been initiated as worshippers.

Modern ritual.

We have not yet said much about the ritual of modern days. It is exceedingly complicated. In the case of the god Śiva the rites are as follows, when performed by a priest in the temple:—

Worship of Śiva.

The Brahman first bathes, then enters the temple, and bows to the god. He anoints the image with clarified butter or boiled oil; pours pure water over it; and then wipes it dry. He grinds some white powder, mixing it with water; dips the ends of his three fore fingers in it, and draws them across the image. He sits down; meditates; places rice and *durwa* grass on the image,—places a flower on his own head, and then on the top of the image; then another flower on the image, and another, and another,—accompanying each act with the recitation of sacred spells; places white powder, flowers, bilva leaves, incense, meat-offerings, rice, plantains, and a lamp before the image; repeats the name of Śiva, with praises, then prostrates himself before the image. In the evening he returns, washes his feet, prostrates himself before the door, opens the door, places a lamp within, offers milk, sweetmeats, and fruits to the image, prostrates himself before it, locks the door and departs.

Very similar is the worship paid to Vishṇu:—

The priest bathes, and then awakes the sleeping god by blowing

a shell and ringing a bell. More abundant offerings are made than to Śiva. About noon, fruits, roots, soaked peas, sweetmeats, etc., are presented. Then later, boiled rice, fried herbs, and spices; but no flesh, fish, nor fowl. After dinner, betel nut. The god is then left to sleep; and the temple is shut up for some hours. Towards evening curds, butter, sweetmeats, fruits, are presented. At sunset a lamp is brought, and fresh offerings made. Lights are waved before the image; a small bell is rung: water is presented for washing the mouth, face, and feet,—with a towel to dry them. In a few minutes the offerings and the lamp are removed: and the god is left to sleep in the dark. Worship of Vishṇu.

The prescribed worship is not always fully performed. Still, sixteen things are essential; of which the following are the most important:—

"1st. Preparing a seat for the god; invoking his presence; bathing the image; clothing it; putting the string round it; offering perfumes; flowers; incense; lamps; offerings of fruits and prepared eatables: betel nut; prayers; circumambulation. An ordinary worshipper presents some of the offerings, mutters a short prayer or two, when circumambulating the image; the rest being done by the priest.[1]

We give one additional specimen of the ritual:

"As an atonement for unwarily eating or drinking what is forbidden, eight hundred repetitions of the Gayatri prayer should be preceded by three suppressions of the breath, water being touched during the recital of the following text: 'The bull roars; he has four horns, three feet, two heads, seven hands; and is bound by a three-fold cord; he is the mighty, resplendent being, and pervades mortal men.'"[2]

The bull is understood to be justice personified. All Brahmanical ceremonies exhibit, we may say, ritualism and symbolism run mad.

[1] So writes Vans Kennedy, a good authority. The rites, however, vary with varying places.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, V. p. 356.

Caste.

The most prominent and characteristic institution of Hinduism is Caste. The power of caste is as irrational as it is unbounded; and it works almost unmixed evil. The touch—even the shadow—of a low caste man pollutes. The Scriptural precept, "Honour all men," appears to a true Hindu infinitely absurd. He honours and worships a cow; but he shrinks with horror from the touch of a Mhâr or Mâng. Even Brahmans, if they come from different provinces, will not eat together. Thus Hinduism separates man from man; it goes on dividing and still dividing; and new fences to guard imaginary purity are continually added.

Treatment of women.

The whole treatment of women has gradually become most tyrannical and unjust. In very ancient days they were held in considerable respect; but, for ages past, the idea of woman has been steadily sinking lower and lower, and her rights have been more and more assailed. The burning of widows has been prohibited by enactment;[1] but the awful rite would in many places be restored were it not for the strong hand of the British government. The practice of marrying women in childhood is still generally—all but universally—prevalent; and when, owing to the zeal of reformers, a case of widow-marriage occurs, its rarity makes it be hailed as a signal triumph. Multitudes of the so-called widows were never

[1] In British territory since 1829.

really wives, their husbands (so-called) having died in childhood. Widows are subjected to treatment which they deem worse than death; and yet their number, it is calculated, amounts to about twenty-one millions! More cruel and demoralizing customs than exist in India in regard to women can hardly be found among the lowest barbarians. We are glad to escape from dwelling on points so exceedingly painful. Widows.

IV.

Contrast with Christianity.

The immense difference between the Hindu and Christian religions has doubtless already frequently suggested itself to the reader. It will not be necessary, therefore, to dwell on this topic at very great length. The contrast forces itself upon us at every point.

When, about fifteen centuries B.C., the Âryas were victoriously occupying the Panjâb, and the Israelites were escaping from the "iron furnace" of Egypt, if one had been asked which of the two races would probably rise to the highest conception of the divine, and contribute most largely to the well-being of mankind, the answer, quite possibly, might have been, the Âryas. Egypt, with its brutish idolatries, had corrupted the faith of the Israelites, and slavery had crushed all manliness The Âryas and Israelites—their probable future, about 1500 B.C.

Contrast of their after history.

out of them. Yet how wonderful has been their after history! Among ancient religions that of the Old Testament stands absolutely unique; and in the fulness of time it blossomed into Christianity. How is the marvel to be explained? We cannot account for it except by ascribing it to a divine election of the Israelites, and a providential training intended to fit them to become the teachers of the world. "Salvation is of the Jews."

The contrast between the teachings of the Bible and those of the Hindu books is simply infinite.

Hindu theology compared with Christian.

The conception of a purely immaterial Being, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, which is that of the Bible regarding God, is entirely foreign to the Hindu books. Their doctrine is various; but, in every case, erroneous. It is absolute pantheism; or polytheism; or an inconsistent blending of polytheism and pantheism; or atheism.

Equally striking is the contrast between Christianity and Hinduism as to the attributes of God. According to the former, He is omnipresent; omnipotent; possessed of every excellence—holiness, justice, goodness, truth. According to the chief Hindu philosophy, the Supreme is devoid of attributes—devoid of consciousness. According to the popular conception, when the Supreme becomes conscious, He is developed into three gods, who possess respectively the qualities of truth, passion, and darkness.

"God is a Spirit." "God is light." "God is love." These sublime declarations have no counterparts in Hinduism. Conceptions of God.

He is "the Father of spirits," according to the Bible. According to Hinduism, the individual spirit is a portion of the divine. Even the common people firmly believe this.

Every thing is referred by Hinduism to God as its immediate cause. A Christian is continually shocked by the Hindus ascribing all sin to God as its source.

The adoration of God as a Being possessed of every glorious excellence is earnestly commanded in the Bible. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God; and Him only shalt thou serve." In India the Supreme is never worshipped; but any one of the multitudinous gods may be so; and, in fact, every thing can be worshipped *except* God. A maxim in the mouth of every Hindu is the following: "Where there is faith, there is God." Believe the stone a god, and it is so. The object of worship.

Every sin being traced to God as its ultimate source, the sense of personal guilt is very slight among Hindus. Where it exists it is generally connected with ceremonial defilement or the breach of some one of the innumerable and meaningless rites of the religion. How unlike in all this is the Gospel! The Bible dwells with all possible earnestness on the evil of sin—not of ceremonial The sense of sin.

but moral defilement—the transgression of the divine law, the eternal law of right.

Atonement. How important a place in the Christian system is held by Atonement—the great atonement made by Christ—it is unnecessary to say. Nor need we enlarge on the extraordinary power it exercises over the human heart,—at once filling it with contrition, hatred of sin, and overflowing joy. We turn to Hinduism; alas! we find that the earnest questionings and higher views of the ancient thinkers have in a great degree been ignored in later times. Sacrifice in its original form has passed away. Atonement is often spoken of; but it is only some paltry device or other, such as eating the five products of the cow, going on pilgrimage to some sacred shrine, paying money to the priests, or it may be some bodily penance, that is had recourse to. Such expedients leave no impression on the heart as to the true nature, and essential evil, of sin.

Salvation. Salvation, in the Christian system, denotes deliverance not only from the punishment of sin, but from its power,—implying a renovation of the moral nature. The entire man is to be rectified in heart, speech, and behaviour. The perfection of the individual, and through that the perfection of society, are the objects aimed at; and the consummation desired is the doing of the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven. Now of all this

Sanctification.

—surely a magnificent ideal—we find in Hinduism no trace whatever.

Views of life.

Christianity is emphatically a religion of hope; Hinduism may be designated a religion of despair. The trials of life are many and great; Christianity bids us regard them as discipline from a Father's hand, and tells us that affliction rightly borne yields 'the peaceable fruits of righteousness." To death the Christian looks forward without fear; to him it is a quiet sleep; and the resurrection draws nigh. Then comes the beatific vision of God. Glorified in soul and body, the companion of angels and saints, strong in immortal youth, he will serve without let or hindrance the God and Saviour whom he loves. To the Hindu the trials of life are penal, not remedial. At death his soul passes into another body. Rightly, every human soul animates in succession eighty-four lacs (8,400,000) of bodies—the body of a human being, or a beast, or a bird, or a fish, or a plant, or a stone, according to desert. This weary, all but endless, round of births, fills the mind of a Hindu with the greatest horror. At last the soul is lost in God, as a drop mingles with the ocean; individual existence and consciousness then cease. The thought is profoundly sorrowful that this is the cheerless faith of countless multitudes. No wonder, though the great tenet of Hinduism is this—*Existence is misery.*

The great tenet of Hinduism.

So much for the future of the individual. Re-

The future of the race.

garding the future of the race, Hinduism speaks in equally cheerless terms. Its golden age lies in the immeasurably distant past; and the further we recede from it, the deeper must we plunge into sin and wretchedness. True, ages and ages hence, the "Age of Truth" returns; but it returns only to pass away again, and torment us with the memory of lost purity and joy. The experience of the universe is thus an eternal renovation of hope and disappointment. In the struggle between good and evil there is no final triumph for the good. We tread a fated, eternal round from which there is no escape; and alike the hero fights, and the martyr dies, in vain.

The struggle between good and evil.

It is remarkable that acute intellectual men —as many of the Hindu poets were — should never have grappled with the problem of the Divine government of the world.

The future of the Aryan race.

Equally notable is the unconcern of the Veda as to the welfare and the future of even the Aryan race. But how sublime is the promise given to Abraham, that in him and his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed! Renan has pointed with admiration to the confidence entertained at all times by the Jew in a brilliant and happy future for mankind. The ancient Hindu cared not about the future of his neighbours; and doubtless even the expression "human race" would have been unintelligible to him. — Nor is there any pathos in the Veda; there is no deep sense of

the sorrows of life.—Max Müller has affixed the epithet "transcendent" to the Hindu mind. Its bent was much more towards the metaphysical, the mystical, the incomprehensible, than towards the moral and the practical. Hence endless subtleties, more meaningless and unprofitable than ever occupied the mind of Talmudist or schoolman of the middle ages.

The words of St. Paul illustrated by Hinduism.

But finally, on this part of the subject,—the development of Indian religion supplies a striking comment on the words of St. Paul:

> "The invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood from the things that are made. But when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened."

Moral power.

Hinduism is deplorably deficient in power to raise and purify the human soul, from having no high example of moral excellence. Its renowned sages were noted for irritability and selfishness—great men at cursing;—and the gods for the most part were worse. Need we say how gloriously rich the Gospel is in having, in the character of Christ, the realized ideal of every possible excellence?

Ethical effect of Hinduism.

Summa religionis est imitari quem colis: "It is the sum of religion to imitate the being worshipped."[1] Or, as the Hindus express it: "As is the deity, such is the devotee." Worship the God revealed in the Bible, and you become godlike; the soul

[1] Cicero.

strives, with Divine aid, to "purify itself even as God is pure." But apply the principle to Hinduism. Alas! the Pantheon is almost a pandemonium. Krishna, who in these days is the chief deity to at least a hundred millions of people, does not possess one elevated attribute. If, in these circumstances, society does not become a moral pesthouse, it is only because the people continue better than their religion. The human heart, though fallen, is not fiendish. It has still its purer instincts; and, when the legends about abominable gods and goddesses are falling like mildew, these are still to some extent kept alive by the sweet influences of earth and sky, and by the charities of family life. When the heart of woman is about to be swept into the abyss, her infant's smile restores her to her better self. Thus family life does not go to ruin; and, so long as that anchor holds, society will not drift on the rocks that stand so perilously near. Still, the state of things is deplorably distressing.

The people better than their religion.

The doctrine of Incarnation is of fundamental importance in Christianity. It seems almost profanation to compare it with the Hindu teaching regarding the Avatâras, or Descents of Vishṇu. It is difficult to extract any meaning out of the three first manifestations—when the god became in succession a fish, a boar, and a tortoise. Of the great "descents" in Râma and Krishna,

The doctrine of Incarnation.

we have already spoken. The ninth Avatâra was that of Buddha,—in which the deity descended for the purpose of deceiving men, making them deny the gods, and leading them to destruction. So blasphemous an idea may seem hardly possible even for the bewildered mind of India; but this is doubtless the Brahmanical explanation of the rise and progress of Buddhism; it was fatal error, but inculcated by a divine being! Even the sickening tales of Krishna and his amours are less shocking than this. When we turn from such representations of divinity to "the Word made flesh," we seem to have escaped from the pestilential air of a charnel house to the sweet pure breath of heaven.

V.

Hinduism in contact with Christianity.

Attempted reforms.

We have used the word *reformer* in this Tract. We formerly noted that, in India, there have arisen from time to time, men who saw and sorrowed over the erroneous doctrines and degrading rites of the popular system.

In quite recent times they have had successors. Some account of their work may form a fitting conclusion to our discussion.

With the large influx into India of Christian ideas it was to be expected that some impression

would be made on Hinduism. We do not refer to conversion—the full acceptance of the Christian faith. Christianity has advanced and is advancing in India more rapidly than is generally supposed; but far beyond the circle of those who "come out and are separate," its mighty power is telling on Hinduism. The great fundamental truths of the Gospel, when once uttered and understood, can hardly be forgotten. Disliked and denied they may be; but forgotten? No. Thus, they gradually win their way; and multitudes who have no thought of becoming Christians are ready to admit that they are beautiful and true,—for belief and practice are often widely separated in Hindu minds.

Advance of Christianity in India.

The Brâhma Samâj.

But it was to be expected that the new ideas pouring into India—and among these we include not only distinctively Christian ideas, but Western thought generally—would manifest their presence and activity in concrete forms—in attempted reconstructions of religion. The most remarkable example of such a reconstruction is exhibited in the Brahmo Somaj (more correctly Brâhma Samâj)—which may be rendered the "Church of God."

Rammohun Roy.

It is traceable to the efforts of a truly distinguished man, Rammohun Roy. He was a person of studious habits, intelligent, acute; and deeply in earnest on the subject of religion. He studied not only Hinduism in its various forms, but Buddhism, Mohammadanism, and Christianity.

He was naturally an eclectic—gathering truth from all quarters where he thought he could find it. A specially deep impression was made on his mind by Christianity; and in 1820 he published a book with the remarkable title, "The precepts of Jesus the guide to peace and happiness." Very frequently he gave expression to the sentiment that the teachings of Christ were the truest and deepest that he knew. Still, he did not believe in Christ's divinity.

Effect of Christianity upon him.

In January, 1830, a place of worship was opened by Rammohun Roy and his friends. It was intended for the worship of one God, without idolatrous rites of any kind. This was undoubtedly a very important event; and great was the interest aroused in connection with it. Rammohun Roy, however, visited Britain in 1831, and died at Bristol in 1833; and the cause for which he had so earnestly laboured in India languished for a time. But in the year 1841, Debendernath Tagore, a man of character and wealth, joined the Brahmo Somaj, and gave a kind of constitution to it. It was fully organized by 1844. No definite declaration, however, had been made as to the authority of the Vedas; but, after a lengthened period of inquiry and discussion, a majority of the Somaj rejected the doctrine of their infallibility by 1850. "The rock of intuition" now began to be spoken of; man's reason was his

Debendernath Tagore.

sufficient guide. Still, great respect was cherished for the ancient belief and customs of the land. But in 1858 a new champion appeared on the scene, in the well-known Keshub Chunder Sen. Ardent, impetuous, ambitious — full of ideas derived from Christian sources[1]—he could not brook the slow movements of the Somaj in the path of reform. Important changes, both religious and social, were pressed by him; and the more conservative Debendernath somewhat reluctantly consented to their introduction. Matters were, however, brought to a crisis by the marriage of two persons of different castes in 1864. In February, 1865, the progressive party formally severed their connection with the original Somâj; and in August, 1869, they opened a new place of worship of their own. Since this time the original or Adi Somâj has been little heard of; and its movement—if it has moved at all—has been retrogressive. The new Somaj—the Brahmo Somaj of India, as it called itself,—under the guidance of Mr. Sen became very active. A missionary institute was set up, and preachers were sent over a great part of India. Much was accomplished on behalf of women; and in 1872 a Marriage Act for members of the Somaj was passed by the Indian

Keshub Chunder Sen.

Formation of a new Samâj.

[1] We learned from his own lips that among the books which most deeply impressed him were the Bible and the writings of Dr. Chalmers.

legislature, which legalized union between people of different castes, and fixed on fourteen as the lowest age for the marriage of females. These were important reforms.

Mr. Sen's influence was naturally and necessarily great; but, in opposing the venerable leader of the original Somaj, he had set an example which others were quite willing to copy.

Several of his followers began to demand more radical reforms than he was willing to grant. The autocracy exercised by Mr. Sen was strongly objected to; and a constitution of the Somaj was demanded. Mr. Sen openly maintained that heaven from time to time raises up men endowed with special powers, and commissioned to introduce new forms or "dispensations" of religion; and his conduct fully proved that he regarded himself as far above his followers. Complaints became louder; and although the eloquence and genius of Keshub were able to keep the rebellious elements from exploding, it was evident, as early as 1873, that a crisis was approaching. This came in 1878, when Mr. Sen's daughter was married to the Mahârâjâ of Kuch Behar. The bride was not fourteen, and the bridegroom was sixteen. Now, Mr. Sen had been earnest and successful in getting the Brahmo Marriage Act passed, which ruled that the lowest marriageable age for a woman was

Discontent growing.

fourteen, and for a man, eighteen. Here was gross inconsistency. What could explain it? "Ambition," exclaimed great numbers; "the wish to exalt himself and his daughter by alliance with a prince." But Mr. Sen declared that he had consented to the marriage in consequence of an express intimation that such was the will of heaven. Mr. Sen denied miracles, but believed in inspiration; and of his own inspiration he seems to have entertained no doubt We thus obtain a glimpse into the peculiar working of his mind. Every full conviction, every strong wish, of his own he ascribed to divine suggestion. This put him in a position of extreme peril. It was clear that an enthusiastic, imaginative, self-reliant nature like his might thus be borne on to any extent of fanaticism.

Revolt. A third Samâj.

A great revolt from Mr. Sen's authority now took place; and the Sâdhâraṇ Samâj was organized in May, 1878. An appeal had been made to the members generally; and no fewer than twenty-one provincial Samajes, with more than 400 members, male and female, joined the new society This number amounted to about two-thirds of the whole body. Keshub and his friends denounced the rebels in very bitter language; and yet, in one point of view, their secession was a relief. Men of abilities equal, and education superior, to his own had hitherto acted as a drag on his movements; he

was now delivered from their interference, and could deal with the admiring and submissive remnant as he pleased. Ideas that had been working in his mind now attained rapid development. Within two years the flag of the "New Dispensation" was raised; and of that dispensation Mr. Sen was the undoubted head. Very daring was the language Mr. Sen used in a public lecture regarding this new creation. He claimed equality for it with the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and for himself "singular" authority and a Divine commission.

"New Dispensation."

In the Creed of the New Dispensation the name of Christ does not occur. The articles were as follows:—

Its creed.

a. One God, one Scripture, one Church. *b.* Eternal progress of the Soul. *c.* Communion of Prophets and Saints. *d.* Fatherhood and Motherhood of God. *e.* Brotherhood of Man, and Sisterhood of Woman. *f.* Harmony of knowledge and holiness, love and work, yoga and asceticism in their highest development. *g.* Loyalty to Sovereign.

The omission of Christ's name is the more remarkable because Mr. Sen spoke much of Him in his public lectures. He had said in May, 1879, "None but Jesus, none but Jesus, none but Jesus ever deserved this precious diadem, India; and Jesus shall have it." But he clearly indicated that the Christ he sought was an Indian Christ; one who was "a Hindu in faith," and who would help

Omission of Christ's name.

the Hindus to "realize their national idea of a yogi" (ascetic).

Let it be noted that, from the beginning of his career, Mr. Sen had spoken earnestly of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man—though these great conceptions are not of Hindu origin. It is difficult to see why, in later days, he insisted so much on the "motherhood of God." Perhaps it was a repetition—he probably would have called it an exaltation—of the old Hindu idea, prevalent especially among the worshippers of Śiva, that there is a female counterpart—a Śakti—of every divinity. Or, possibly, it may have been to conciliate the worshippers of Durgâ and Kâlî, those great goddesses of Bengal.

"Motherhood of God."

A public proclamation was soon issued, purporting to be from God Himself, as India's Mother. The whole thing was very startling; many, even of Keshub's friends, declared it blasphemous. Next, in the "Flag Ceremony," the flag or banner of the New Dispensation received a homage scarcely distinguishable from worship. Then—as if in strict imitation of the ancient adoration of Agni, or Fire—a pile of wood was lighted, clarified butter poured on it, and prayers addressed to it, ending thus—"O brilliant Fire! in thee we behold our resplendent Lord." This was, at least, symbolism run wild; and every one, except those who were prepared to follow their leader to all lengths, saw

Public proclamation said to be from God.

that in a land like India, wedded to idolatry, it was fearfully perilous.

In March, 1881, Mr. Sen and his friends introduced celebrations which, to Christian minds, seemed a distressing caricature of the Christian sacraments. Other institutions followed; an Apostolic Durbar, (Court of Apostles), for instance, was established. There was no end to Mr. Sen's inventiveness.

"Apostolic Durbar."

In a public lecture delivered in January, 1883, on "Asia's message to Europe," he elaborately expounded the idea that all the great religions are of Asiatic origin, and that all of them are true; and that the one thing required to constitute the faith of the future—the religion of humanity—is the blending of all these varied Oriental systems into one.

It was not easy to reconcile Mr. Sen's public utterances with his private ones—though far be it from us to tax him with insincerity. Thus, in an interview extending over two hours, which the writer and two missionary friends had with him a week or so before the lecture now referred to, he said he accepted as true and vital all the leading doctrines of the Christian faith, with the exception of the resurrection of Christ. But another fundamental difference remained—he avowedly dissented from the orthodox creed in rejecting the miraculous element in Scripture. At an interview I had with him some time before, he earnestly disclaimed all

Inconsistencies between Mr. Sen's public and private utterances

intention to put Christ on a level with Buddha or Mohammad. "I am educating my friends," he said, "to understand and approve of Christianity; I have not yet said my last word about Christ." It is a solemn question—Had he said it when his career was ended? If so, it was far from a satisfactory word. His policy of reserve and adaptation had probably kept him from uttering all that was in his heart; but it was a sorely mistaken policy. Had he temporized less, he would have accomplished more.

Mr. Sen's policy of reserve.

Since the death of Mr. Sen there has been a violent dispute between his family and the "Apostolic Durbar" on one side, and one of his ablest followers, on the other; and the New Dispensation will probably split in two, if it does not perish altogether.

The Sâdhâran Samâj.

In the meantime, the Sâdhâraṇ Samâj, which broke off from Keshub's party in 1878, has been going on with no small vigour. Vagaries, either in doctrine or rites, have been carefully shunned; its partisans profess a pure Theistic creed, and labour diligently in the cause of social reform. Their position is nearly that of Unitarian Christianity; and we fear they are not at present approximating to the full belief of the Church Catholic.

Movements in Western India

Very similar in character to the Brahmo Somaj is the Prârthanâ Somaj in Western India. As far back as 1850, or a little earlier, there was

formed a society called the Prârthanâ Sabhâ (Prayer Meeting). Its leading tenets were as follows:— Tenets of the Prârthanâ Sabhâ.

1. I believe in one God. 2. I renounce idol-worship. 3. I will do my best to lead a moral life. 4. If I commit any sin through the weakness of my moral nature, I will repent of it, and ask the pardon of God.

The Society, after some time, began to languish; but in 1867 it was revived under the name of Prârthanâ Somaj. Its chief branches are in Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, and Surat.

An interesting movement called the Ârya Samâj was commenced a few years ago by a Pandit,—Dayânand Sarasvati. He received the Vedas as fully inspired, but maintained that they taught monotheism,—Agni, Indra, and all the rest being merely different names of God. It was a desperate effort to save the reputation of the ancient books; but, as all Sanskrit scholars saw at a glance, the whole idea was a delusion. The Pandit is now dead; and the Ârya Samâj may not long survive him. Ârya Samâj.

At the time we write we hear of an attempt to defend idolatry and caste made by men of considerable education.

The so-called "Theosophists" have, for several years, been active in India. Of existing religions, Buddhism is their natural ally. They are atheists. A combination which they formed with the Ârya Samâj speedily came to an end. Theosophists

Lastly, the followers of Mr. Bradlaugh are diligent in supplying their books to Indian students.

Poor India! No wonder if her mind is bewildered as she listens to such a Babel of voices. The state of things in India now strikingly resembles that which existed in the Roman Empire at the rise of Christianity; when east and west were brought into the closest contact, and a great conflict of systems of thought took place in consequence.

But even as one hostile form of Gnostic belief rose after another, and rose only to fall,—and as the greatest and best-disciplined foe of early Christianity—the later Platonism—gave way before the steady, irresistible march of Gospel truth, so—we have every reason to hope—it will be yet again. The Christian feels his heart swell in his breast as he thinks what, in all human probability, India will be a century, or even half a century, hence. Oh what a new life to that fairest of Eastern lands, when she casts herself in sorrow and supplication at the feet of the Living God, and then rises to proclaim to a listening world

Her deep repentance and her new-found joy!

May God hasten the advent of that happy day!

MODERN PESSIMISM

BY THE

REV. J. RADFORD THOMSON, M.A.

Argument of the Tract.

HUMAN life being composite,—joy and sorrow being alike facts of experience,—various theories have been advanced for its explanation. Pessimism is the doctrine that all things are for the worst, that there is no Benevolent Ruler of the Universe, and no hope of happiness for man. A revival of Oriental Buddhism, Pessimism at present prevails largely in several countries of Europe. The metaphysical bases of Pessimism are described, and its doctrines, as wrought out by Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, are explained. Specimens are given of the gloomy view taken by Pessimists of human existence.

The unreasonableness of Pessimism as a Philosophy is then exhibited. The error and unfairness of the Pessimist view of life are next exposed. An estimate is offered of the value of life, and it is shown that Christianity alone is able to solve the problem.

The Tract concludes with a picture of the evils which the prevalence of Pessimism would involve, and with a contrast between the fruits of this system and those of the Religion of Christ.

MODERN PESSIMISM.

I.

Pessimism a Philosophy of Human Life.

Men, in the exercise of observation, reflection, and reasoning, cannot but endeavour to construct a philosophy of life. The children of nature may indeed accept all experience without inquiry; they may be content without seeking a harmony in life's varied voices, without asking for a clue to life's perplexing mysteries. But as soon as men begin to regard existence as a whole, to consider the world as a problem, to demand reasons for their own nature and experiences, for their own history and hopes, —they must theorize. In fashioning for themselves a philosophy of life, men will of necessity be influenced by individual temperament; some are by nature cheerful, and some are by nature morose. Circumstances, too, both personal and domestic, both social and political, will largely affect their speculations and determine their conclusions.

Men are constrained to construct a philosophy of life.

Human life composite

It needs little experience, little observation, to discern that life is a many-coloured web, in which the bright warp of happiness is crossed by the dull sombre weft of pain and sadness. Human experience abounds in sorrow and privation, in perplexity and difficulty, in misfortunes and disappointments, in sins and fears. Man's body is often weak, and unfit for the demands made upon it; his intellect is beset by doubts which cannot be solved; his heart has aspirations which cannot be satisfied; his lot is liable to vicissitudes, to calamities, to untimely end.

Joy and sorrow alike natural and inevitable.

How can it be explained?

What explanation can be given of our existence? where shall its unity be grasped? whence shall its purport and its prospects be beheld? Is a philosophy of life possible? and if so, who will help us to achieve it?

To the Christian, enlightened by Revelation, life appears a probation and a discipline.

As Christians, accepting the Word of God as of Divine authority, we are not dependent for guidance in such a path of inquiry upon the speculations of unaided human reason. We claim for revealed religion that its representations of human life are just and adequate, satisfying to the intellect and the conscience. This is because the Scriptures support and amplify the soundest and loftiest teaching of reason, and add to this teaching declarations, sanctions, motives, and prospects peculiarly their own. Christians have learned to exalt the spiritual nature of man, at the same time that they

realize the fact of human sin. To them man's earthly course is a probation and a discipline,—the moral relations of man with his Divine Lord and Father are of supreme importance, and this state of being is preparatory to one ampler, richer, and immortal.

Various theories proposed.

As a matter of fact, philosophies of life have been wrought out in all cultivated communities, both in ancient and in modern times. They have differed from one another, both in the measure of fairness with which they have contemplated the facts of human existence, and in the measure of sagacity and insight with which they have apprehended the true and Divine meaning underlying what is apparent.

Two opposite theories especially deserve consideration: Optimism and Pessimism.

To particularize, there are two opposite theories known as *optimism* and *pessimism:* two theories which regard the same facts in entirely opposite lights. According to the advocates of the first of these doctrines, this is the best of all possible worlds, life is fraught with happiness, man is capable of development in all excellence, and the prospect before the human race is bright and alluring. It is, however, to the philosophy which is diametrically opposite to this that we invite the attention of the reader.

Pessimism is the very expressive name given to the doctrine that this is the worst of all possible worlds,—that human life necessarily contains more

Pessimism defined.

pain than pleasure, that there is no prospect of improvement in the human lot, that life is not worth living, and that conscious existence must be regarded as the worst of all possible evils.

Taken here in a strict sense.

It is true that the term in question is often more loosely employed. In popular language those persons are called Pessimists who take a gloomy and despondent view of their own lot, and of the prospects of society at large. We meet with manifestations of the pessimistic spirit in a cynical style of conversation not uncommon among educated men of a certain temperament, and in the sceptical, hopeless tone of very much of modern literature. But we have to deal here with a reasoned and elaborate system of belief, having all the pretensions of a philosophy.

II.

Pessimism a Revival of Ancient Buddhism.

Occasional signs of the Pessimistic spirit in the ancient Hebrew and Greek literature.

Symptoms of a Pessimistic spirit are to be remarked occasionally in ancient literature. In the Old Testament books of Job and Ecclesiastes are sweeping statements regarding the misery of life, prompted by phases of experience through which certain characters are recorded to have passed. Some of the great Greek tragedies pourtray the helplessness of man in the presence of an irresistible and apparently malignant fate. But it is generally

admitted that the tone of the earlier Hebrew literature, and the tone of classical antiquity is rather optimistic than otherwise. Life seemed, especially to the Greeks, a thing beautiful and precious in itself, and man was regarded by them as born for happiness.

The most remarkable development of Pessimism in ancient times is to be sought in the theosophies and religions of the distant East. For thousands of years India has been the home of the philosophy of hopelessness. It may have been owing partly to the poverty, want, and misery, which have been for ages the lot of untold myriads of Orientals, and partly to the prevalence of cruelty and oppression in political relations; in any case, the Hindus seem always to have found a solution of their difficulties, and a shelter from their wretchedness, in a philosophy which has fully admitted the evils they have experienced, and has in some measure armed them for endurance. Brahmanism has ever taught the vanity and misery of human life, and held out the prospect of absorption into the Infinite Being as the highest attainable blessedness.

The hopeless tone of the Brahmanic philosophy and religion.

But whilst the Brahmanic philosophy represents the created world as a fact to be mourned over, the evil of which can only be remedied, or rather neutralized, in the way proposed,—*Buddhism* is far more thorough-going in its Pessimism. This influential system of belief and of conduct, which

Buddhism the Oriental Pessimism.

came into existence five centuries before Christ, and which has exercised influence so immense in India, Ceylon, Thibet, and China, has been designated "the great heresy of the East." Much as has been written upon Buddhism, discussion is still carried on with regard to some of its leading doctrines. The author of *Esoteric Buddhism* would have us believe that we in the West are still all but ignorant of this pretentious theosophy. Still, we may be assured that Buddhism is Pessimism, pure and simple, that it acknowledges no Creator, no absolute Being, whilst its only desirable prospect in the future is that Nirvana, which is understood to be utter extinction and annihilation, or at all events an eternal and passionless repose.

Holding forth to humanity no hope save annihilation.

"Buddha, Eckhart, and myself," said Schopenhauer, "in the main teach the same doctrine." Pessimism is indeed the Buddhism of the nineteenth century. Buddha was a theologian, Schopenhauer a philosopher. Buddhism was a Gospel for sages; Pessimism professes to be a Gospel for humanity. The modern Pessimism has been well described as "Buddhism without Buddha." Sakya Mouni was not a philosopher who constructed a system for the adoption of others only, while he himself dwelt apart from human experiences of privation; he had a deeply-rooted conviction of the evil and misery of life, — a conviction manifested not only in his teaching, but in his whole life and ministry.

Modern Pessimists acknowledge their affinity with Buddhism.

That Buddhism should prove itself the great missionary faith of heathendom, that it should have been accepted by so many millions as the true philosophy of life and the true religion, that it should have retained its hold upon vast populations for successive generations and ages, that it should afford some satisfaction to multitudes of thoughtful and virtuous men as the best solution of life's enigmas, and the best guide in life's perplexities: all this is proof that there is in it a doctrine, a principle, which responds to some deep-seated sentiments in the human breast. It is very remarkable that in our own day there should be an attempt to introduce the Buddhist theosophy, without any disguise, among the educated classes of Britain and America, as the most profound and satisfying of all known theories of man and of the universe!

The power and popularity of Buddhism.

It is certainly singular that the very same Pessimism, which has prevailed so widely and so long in the East, should be revived in this nineteenth century among the most educated and advanced peoples of Europe. How is it to be explained that an age of enlightenment, of widespread education, of unexampled material, mechanical and scientific progress, of political energy, of social liberty, of missionary enterprise, should give birth to so strange a product? In a state of society stationary, dull, unenterprising, such a

The strange revival of Pessimism in Europe in the nineteenth century.

phenomenon would appear explicable, if not natural. But in the nations of Western Europe there seems so much scope for activity, so much appreciation of mental power, so much room for progress, and so much stimulus to hope, that Pessimism seems altogether out of place. Especially is this so, when we consider the vitality and the growth of Christianity, which, notwithstanding repeated and powerful attacks, does far more than hold its own in the moral conflict of the world.

Its apparent discordance with the temper of the age.

However, the fact must be acknowledged, and the issue must be faced. In Germany, the depressing doctrines of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann have been received by multitudes among the educated classes as a Gospel of despair; a Pessimistic school of philosophy has been formed, and a Pessimistic literature has arisen. The same way of regarding human life and the universe has spread to other nations, and Pessimism is not without its adherents and its influence in France and in England. In fact, much of the sceptical and cynical writing of our day, to be met with in our reviews and magazines, is simply saturated with Pessimism. We meet constantly with a tone of cynicism and despondency, for the explanation, the source, of which, we must look to the philosophy in question. A vein of Pessimism runs through the conversation and the literary compositions even of those who might be supposed exempt from an in-

Yet modern literature is largely tainted with Pessimism.

fluence of the kind. The young, the cultured, the wealthy, the fortunate and prosperous, are to be found among the disciples of this school.[1]

The question, which has been so keenly debated, "*Is life worth living?*" could never have arisen in an age which was alien from Pessimistic speculations. It is certainly an indication of a habit of going down to the very roots of controversy, that such a question should have been mooted and discussed. If pleasure be regarded as the only, or the chief element which gives value to life, it is certain that different sides will be taken in this debate. Mr. Herbert Spencer maintains that the answer to the question depends upon the preponderance of pleasure over pain, or of pain over pleasure; and evidently inclines to the opinion that the excess of pleasures decides the value of life. The same test, however, when applied by the school of Schopenhauer, leads to the conviction that pain is the master force, and that conscious existence is in itself an evil.

Difference of estimate as to the value of life

[1] It has been remarked by an Edinburgh reviewer (April, 1879) that many of the extreme departures from Christian orthodoxy which have marked our own times have been revivals of ancient systems. Certainly modern Materialism is simply the old doctrine of Epicurus and Lucretius, adapted to the state of modern physical science. The new Catholicism which has made way among some classes of our own countrymen is the mediæval theology reanimated. Mr. Matthew Arnold's moral Idealism is little more than Confucianism. In like manner the Pessimism, in exposition of which so many volumes have been written, especially in Germany, is substantially the Buddhism of five centuries before Christ.

III.

The Advocacy and Prevalence of Pessimism in Italy, Russia, England, and especially in Germany.

It would be impossible, and it is unnecessary, here to enumerate all the symptoms of Pessimism which have appeared in our century, or even to mention the names of all the notable champions of the system. It must suffice to refer to the poetical Pessimism of the Italian Leopardi, to the social and literary Pessimism of Russia, and to the philosophical Pessimism of Germany;—the last being by far the most important and influential. Even so limited a review will serve to convince the reader that the philosophy which we are here treating is amongst the great forces of our age.

The life of the Italian poet, Leopardi.

Leopardi, the Italian poet, who was born ten years after Schopenhauer, and who died before he was forty (1798–1837), was a thorough-going Pessimist. He does not seem to have been in any way acquainted with the speculations of his German contemporary, nor were his views of life based upon any metaphysical doctrines. In his youth he was devoted to study, and acquired considerable classical learning; he was regarded as a man of genius, from whom great things were

hoped. Though of a noble family, his means were very narrow, and circumstances no doubt concurred with wretched health to sadden and darken his views of life. His reputation rests upon his original poetry, his translations, and upon some critical works. He himself denied that his philosophical opinions were the result of his misfortunes. "I would beg of my readers," he wrote, "to burn my writings rather than attribute them to my sufferings." Still, how otherwise can we account for the weariness and disgust of life which took possession of him in the spring-time of youth? When only nineteen he spoke of "the obstinate, black, and barbarous melancholy" which devoured and destroyed him; when twenty he wrote,

His misery and hatred of life.

"I have passed years so full of bitterness, that it seems impossible for worse to succeed them."

At a later period he thus expressed his feelings:

"I am weary of life, and weary of the philosophy of indifference, which is the only cure for misfortune and *ennui*, but which at length becomes an *ennui* itself. I look and hope for nothing but death."

In 1830, when dedicating his *Canti* to his Tuscan friends, he thus referred to his ill-health and disappointments:

"My sufferings are incapable of increase; already my misfortune is too great for tears. I have lost everything, and am but a trunk that feels and suffers."

Leopardi cannot be suspected of affectation. It is reasonable to regard his distressing emotions and

Explanation of his state of mind.

his pessimistic doctrines as largely the consequence of bodily weakness and pain, and of disappointed social and literary ambition, unchastened by any faith in Divine Providence, unrelieved by any prospect of a happier life in the future. Physically incapable of many of life's pleasures, he passionately yearned for them. He was conscious of abilities which his circumstances would not allow to develop and mature. He loved apparently in vain.

Soured and dissatisfied, Leopardi evidently embodied in his letters, his dialogues, his poems, his distorted views of life. Nothing in literature is more sad than his language regarding human existence. *Infelicità* — misery — is, according to him, the only explanation which can be given of human affairs; this is universal and irremediable, —such is our only certainty. "The most happy lot," said he, "is not to live." "Human consciousness is itself a curse, and the brute and the plant are happier than man." "Our life, what is it worth, but to despise it?" "When will *Infelicità* perish? When all ends!"

His judgment of the human lot, and his despair.

His philosophy has thus been summarized by Edwards, the translator of his works:

> "The universe is an enigma totally insoluble. The sufferings of mankind exceed all good that men experience. Progress, or as we call it, civilization, instead of lightening men's sufferings, increases them; since it enlarges man's capacities for suffering, without proportionately augmenting his means of enjoyment."

In short, Leopardi explicitly envied the dead, and

lamented the infinite vanity of all things. (L'infinita vanità del tutto.)

Yet Leopardi was a patriot,—a patriotic poet. In the Italy of his time there was little to encourage hope. His poetry sang of Italy's past greatness and glory; he cherished no expectation of national revival. Events have shown that his estimate was mistaken; his pessimism, as far as his country was concerned, has been proved unjustifiable.

There is one country in Europe in which Pessimism has penetrated to the lower strata of society. That country is Russia, the empire of absolutism in political life, of ignorance and superstition in religion. It is remarkable and suggestive that, notwithstanding the emancipation of the serfs, and other steps taken in keeping with the march of modern civilization, discontent so largely pervades the Muscovite empire. The young and the intellectual, women as well as men, furnish active and enthusiastic supporters to the cause of revolution, Europe is periodically startled by proofs of the boldness, the secrecy, the self-immolation of the Nihilists. The existence of Pessimist sects among the common people may be a symptom of that deep unrest which cannot but prevail in a community where personal liberty is unknown, where corruption is the canker of the official classes, where there is no publicity in the administration of so-called office, and where there are no open and legitimate

Nihilism and Pessimism in Russia.

means for the expression of dissatisfaction, and for the furtherance of reform. It has for many years been known that there are in Russia secret societies comprising large numbers of adherents, whose great uniting principle is a common conviction of the worthlessness and hatefulness of life. And it is also well known that in some such societies the practice of barbarous mutilation prevails, with a view to the prevention of offspring, and ultimately to the extinction of the species. There must be something more than a philosophical theory to account for fanaticism so extravagant; the explanation must be sought in the insufferable conditions of society, and in the absence of a vital Christianity, capable of assuaging sorrow, and of inspiring fortitude, toil, and hope.

The secret societies among the Russian peasants.

But Russia contains Pessimists of the highest literary grade. Among these may be mentioned the popular author, Tölstoi. It has been surmised that his unhappy disposition may have been fostered by the premature success he met with in his literary career, which left him little to look forward to and to hope for. Though favoured with health, fortune, family connections, and literary renown, he found no satisfaction in his vocation, and professedly hated life, and despised the human species.

Literary Pessimism in Russia.

In accounting for principles so monstrously perverted, it is not sufficient to remember that in

Russia literature and art are afflicted with melancholy, that Nature is for the most part sombre and hard, that the Russian people seem to be by nature and education insusceptible to those Western ideas which are adopted rather than appropriated by the cultivated and political classes. The political state of the empire, perplexing and unique as it is, may well engender hopelessness. The cynical tone said to be characteristic of the society of St. Petersburg, and the prevalence of despair among the sects just referred to, are evidences from widely different quarters of a state of feeling favourable to the reception and the spread of Pessimistic views of human life.

Explanation of Russian Pessimism.

The Pessimistic theory, however, has a hold upon the minds of many of the intellectual and literary class amongst our fellow-countrymen, and Pessimistic doctrines and views of human life are openly advocated by English writers in this country.

The strain of Pessimism in English literature.

A very few years since, Mr. James Payn, a very successful *littérateur*, wrote in the *Nineteenth Century* an article[1] entitled *The Midway Inn*, containing such reflections as may be supposed to occur to a hard-working professional man, who has reached middle age. It is impossible to read this original and interesting, but very mournful, article, without feeling that the writer regards

The avowed Pessimism of Mr. James Payn.

[1] May, 1879. The article has since been republished in a volume of essays by Mr. Payn.

human life, even to the successful, as a bitter disappointment. He puts the matter very plainly in this language:—

"The question, Is Life worth Living? is one that concerns philosophers and metaphysicians; but the question, Do I wish to be out of it? is one that is getting answered very widely, and in the affirmative. This was certainly not the case in the days of our grandsires."

And again:—

"The gift of old age is unwished-for, and the prospect of future life without encouragement. It is the modern conviction that there will be some kind of work in it; and even though what we shall be set to do may be wrought with 'tumult of acclaim,' we have had enough of work. What follows, almost as a matter of course, is that the thought of possible extinction has lost its terrors."

His assertions concerning men's weariness of life.

It might be supposed that weariness and disgust of life will lead to something worse than bitter words. If existence is so wretched, it is not to be supposed that men will continue to endure it, when (as Epictetus phrased it) "the door is open." Mr. Payn affirms that suicide is probably far more frequent than is publicly admitted, and is of opinion that it would be even more common were it not for the fear lest the life-assurance companies should withhold from the mourning family the sum secured as a provision against want.

The *Spectator*[1] commenting in a leading article upon Mr. Payn's essay, remarked upon one peculiarity of the Pessimism it revealed:—

[1] May 3rd, 1879.

"Melancholy, ennui, weariness to-day comes chiefly to the *workers*, and makes men miserable who are toiling like navvies for a success, or an object, which, when attained, will be, they know, like ashes in their mouths. . . . They are weary of it all, even in middle age."

The melancholy of men of middle age.

In the opinion of the *Spectator* this state of mind is due partly to a want of hope in a future life, and partly to a development of the imagination, producing a chasm between what men are and what they would if they could be, a disparity between their "brain muscle," and the work unconsciously required of it.

Mr. Richard Jefferies, a charming and popular writer upon natural history, in *The Story of my Heart*, a sort of autobiographical confession, thus avows his Pessimism:—

"How can I adequately express my contempt for the assertion that all things occur for the best, for a wise and beneficent end, and are ordered by a humane intelligence? It is the most utter falsehood, and a crime against the human race. . . . Human suffering is so great, so endless, so awful, that I can hardly write of it. I could not go into hospitals and face it, as some do, lest my mind should be temporarily overcome. The whole and the worst the worst Pessimist can say is far beneath the least particle of the truth, so immense is the misery of man. It is the duty of all rational beings to acknowledge the truth. There is not the least trace of directing intelligence in human affairs. . . . Any one who will consider the affairs of the world at large, and of the individual, will see that they do not proceed in the manner they would do for our happiness if a man of humane breadth of view were placed at their head with unlimited power, such as is credited to the intelligence which does not exist. A man of intellect and humanity could cause everything to happen in an infinitely superior manner."[1]

Mr. Jefferies' avowal of Pessimism

[1] Pp. 134–6.

Here is another passage from the same book,—inexpressibly mournful:—

Disbelief in a benevolent Creator.

"For grief there is no known consolation. It is useless to fill our hearts with bubbles. A loved one is gone, and as to the future—if there is a future—it is unknown. To assure ourselves otherwise, is to soothe the mind with illusions; the bitterness is inconsolable."

Pessimism in poetry.

Nor is contemporary Pessimism confined to prose. The following very beautiful but very sad stanzas are from a short poem significantly entitled *The Age of Despair*, included in a little volume of poems by Mr. H. D. Traill, *Recaptured Rhymes*.

"Dead is for us the rose we know must die;
Long ere we drain the goblet it is dry;
And even as we kiss, the distant grave
Chills the warm lip, and dims the lustrous eye.

Too far our race has journey'd from its birth;
Too far death casts his shadow o'er the earth.
Ah, what remains to strengthen and support
Our hearts since they have lost the trick of mirth?

The stay of fortitude? The lofty pride
Wherewith the sages of the Porch denied
That pain and death are evils, and proclaimed
Lawful the exit of the suicide?

Alas, not so! no Stoic calm is ours;
We dread the thorns who joy not in the flowers.
We dare not breathe the mountain-air of pain,
Droop as we may in pleasure's stifling bowers.

* * * * *

What profits it, if here and there we see
A spirit nerved by trust in God's decree,
Who fronts the grave in firmness of the faith
Taught by the Carpenter of Galilee?

Who needs not wine nor roses, lute nor lyre,
Scorns life, or quits it by the gate of fire,
Erect and fearless—what is that to us
Who hold him for the dupe of vain desire?

Can we who wake enjoy the dreamer's dream?
Will the parched treeless waste less hideous seem
Because there shines before some foolish eyes
Mirage of waving wood and silver stream?"

Germany is however the favoured and congenial home of theoretical Pessimism. The two great German advocates of this doctrine—Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann—have obtained European reputation; and their works are now being reproduced in English in the Foreign Philosophical Library, so that there is every probability of their becoming very much more generally known in this country.

Germany the home of the modern Pessimism.

The great work of Schopenhauer—*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (The World as Will and as Representation, or Idea), has every claim to be regarded as the authoritative manual of German Pessimism, of which it both lays the metaphysical foundations and explicates the practical consequences.

Schopenhauer's career.

Schopenhauer was until late in life almost utterly unnoticed by the devotees of Philosophy; it was only during the last ten years of his course that he became famous, and that was in consequence of his less systematic and more comprehensible work, published in 1851, the *Parerga und Paralipomena.* In contrast to this neglect was the

Hartmann's history.

popularity secured and enjoyed by Hartmann, the second great light of the Pessimistic philosophy, whose chief work was published in 1868, and has gone through many editions. More a man of the world than his master, although a vastly inferior writer, he has gained the attention of the reading public of Germany, and his writings are eagerly read by a large circle of admirers.

The German love of metaphysical novelty, and quest of the theory of knowledge and being.

In endeavouring to account for the rise of speculative Pessimism in Germany, the land beyond all others of general education, the land in which the learned class holds the largest ratio to the population, we must not lose sight of the philosophical tendency which has so conspicuously characterised the Teutonic mind during the whole of the present century. Ever since the new impulse given by Kant's *Critique* (*Kritik*) at the close of the last century, an almost unbroken succession of theories of knowledge and of being have claimed the attention of the inquisitive lovers of novelty. It would seem as if, with Hegel, the circle of possible metaphysic must have been completed, as if no other path could be struck out. And the original speculations of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann partake of the nature of paradox. Reason having exhausted itself, it would seem that a Philosophy of Unreason alone remained, by which to startle the human mind, and to acquire notoriety. The Idea, the Reason, might be altogether dis-

The Pessimists advocated the philosophy of Unreason.

placed, and the blind and purposeless *Will*, or the incomprehensible and uncomprehending *Unconscious*, might take its place.

IV.

The Metaphysical Bases of Pessimism.

The ethical doctrines of the Pessimists are based upon metaphysical foundations. It is necessary, therefore, to give a brief outline of the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann. These metaphysical speculations are somewhat abstruse; and many persons adopt Pessimistic views, as they do the views advocated by the expounders of other theories of life, without concerning themselves with their philosophical bases.

The ethics of Pessimism based upon a metaphysical foundation.

Kant had taught that all our knowledge, being conditioned by the forms of thought supplied by our mental constitution, is phenomenal, and of subjective value only. At the same time he believed in the *Ding an sich*, or "thing in itself," although he regarded this as unknowable. These doctrines suggested many speculations regarding the nature of knowledge,—speculations which have constituted the bulk of German metaphysics during this century. The names of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, will occur to readers of philosophical literature, as indicating the successive developments of post-Kantian philosophy during the first half of this century.

Kant's limitation of knowledge to the phenomenal

Schopenhauer's repudiation of Hegelianism.

Now, Schopenhauer took no notice of the German metaphysicians who followed Kant, and indeed was bitterly hostile to his great and fortunate rival, Hegel. It was an evidence of the meanness of his character, that he despised the "Professors" of the German Universities, who, as he maintained, taught doctrines agreeable to the Governments and to the Churches, for the sake of place, profit, and social consideration. For himself, he was soured by the utter neglect which his philosophy met with for more than thirty years, and was no doubt confirmed by his ill-fortune in his hatred and contempt of his fellow-men.

His acceptance of the Kantian distinction between the phenomenal and the real.

Accepting the doctrine of the Critical Philosophy, so far as it distinguished between the phenomenal and the real, Schopenhauer asserted that we *have* knowledge of the latter. In his view, the real essence, the substantial source and explanation of all things, is WILL. But by Will he means not only what we are accustomed to designate by that term, but the great forces of Nature, the instincts and impulses of organic life, as seen in plants and animals, and the promptings and purposes of human beings. Motion, in all its varied forms, seems thus to be metaphysically accounted for. The one real, deep, eternal, and irresistible Power of Nature is Will, which manifests itself in all the processes of inanimate existence, as well as in all the activities of living things.

His conviction that we do know the real, viz., The WILL.

The World has, so to speak, two sides. On the one side it is REPRESENTATION, or Idea (Die Welt ist Vorstellung). The world, as representation, has two indivisible halves, the Object and the Subject, every object existing under the forms of time, space, and causality, and having a relative existence, *i.e.*, through and for something beside itself. By a process of reasoning, which cannot be made intelligible in a few words, Schopenhauer comes to the conclusion that we must seek elsewhere than in that "representation," which is one aspect of the world, and which consists of the two elements mentioned, for the innermost essence of the Universe.

The World is—1. Representation or Idea.

The other side of the World is this: The World is my WILL (Die Welt ist mein Wille). We can go deeper than that "representation," which, if it were all, would make the Universe a dream. We are conscious that movements of our body are due to acts of Will. Although in reflection we can distinguish between Will and action, in reality the two are one. Pain and joy are immediate affections of the will. The body is, to use the awkward language of German metaphysics, "the objectification of the will." In self-consciousness the will is known immediately, bodily impulses are apprehended as symptoms of the action of the will.

It is also 2. Will, by which Schopenhauer means Force.

Now, by analogy, Schopenhauer recognizes Will

as universally present in nature. The Will is "objectified" by certain steps, *e.g.*, forces in inorganic nature, forms in organic nature, partially corresponding to the Platonic "ideas." But it is one and the same Will whose presence is recognized on every side. It is this that accounts for all the changes, movements, and processes of nature, of life.

Will is "the will to live."

The universal Will is *a will to live.* Amid its manifold appearances we discern its unity. The rush of this vast Force into activity accounts for all the phenomena of the Universe. Hence the endless and irreconcilable strife which the world presents to the observer, and which indeed he feels in his own nature. The impulses come into conflict with one another, so that none can be realized, can find satisfaction. Life, Consciousness, *Suffering,*—

It issues of necessity in suffering to the individual.

these are the results of "the Will to live," which realizes itself in individual experience, and in the history of the human race. Each man has a natural desire to live, wrought within him by the unconscious Force of nature,—a desire which it is his mysterious prerogative to affirm or to deny. In affirming it, he seals his doom to irremediable misery.

The "will to live" prompts to love and marriage.

This same "Will to live" manifests its nature and its power in another direction. It works upon the individual for ends beyond himself. As a means to secure the continuance of the species, it takes within the individual the form of sexual love. The reproductive instinct is thus the ally and

the complement of the nutritive instinct. Whilst the individual is deluded into believing that in marriage he is acting for his own gratification and satisfaction, the truth is that he is seeking, though unconsciously, the perpetuation of the race. He thus becomes the unwitting instrument in prolonging human misery. The individual must vanish, and his own personal wretchedness may be lulled into oblivion. But crafty nature takes care that by begetting children he shall do his part to perpetuate the misery of mankind!

It thus secures the perpetuation of the race and of misery.

The ethical doctrine of Schopenhauer—if ethical it may be called—is based upon his teaching with regard to the Will. In the fourth book of his great work he treats of "the conscious affirmation and denial of the Will to live."

It is Will that is the source of all being; the world has come into existence because Will is. This supreme power of the Universe, manifesting itself as the "will to live," is at the root of all evil. To resist death is alike a necessity and a misfortune. The individual man is impelled by the great natural force to dread and to avert the cessation of being, and to use means for the preservation of life,—to provide nourishment for the body, and to repel disease and death. Nature thus secures the perpetuation of human wretchedness.

Here is the root of all wretchedness.

If the WILL is the key-note to Schopenhauer's philosophy; that of Hartmann's doctrines is the

Unconscious. Eduard von Hartmann agreed with his predecessor in the belief that the world, being due to a non-rational Will, is a blunder, is a bad world, and that non-existence is better than existence. According with the ethical superstructure reared by his master, Hartmann sought to lay for it a deeper and broader metaphysical foundation. Opposed—as all the Pessimists have been—to Hegel, he utterly rejected Reason, as the ultimate and absolute principle of the Universe. He introduced the philosophy of the Unconscious (*Philosophie des Unbewussten*), which represents the great secret force and explanation of all things as being *The Unconscious;* which, however, has virtue to organize, and which, in the pursuit of a great aim (Zweck) gives rise to the Universe in all its phases.

Hartmann's doctrine of the Unconscious.

Kant had said that to claim to possess ideas, and yet not to be conscious of them, is a contradiction in terms. Hartmann admits that "unconscious representation" has the air of a paradox. But since the domain of Consciousness is a well-tilled vineyard which can yield little more to the labour of the student, perhaps he who digs below the surface may find golden treasure in the hidden depths of the Unconscious. Well-known mental phenomena suggest the existence of unconscious representations and volitions; may they not be indications of that "all-one" principle,

Going below Consciousness, he believes that he finds there the ultimate Principle of all being.

which may be accepted as the final and universal explanation furnished by monistic philosophy?

Intimations of this Principle prepared the way for Hartmann.

From the Vedanta philosophy of the East down to Schopenhauer, profound speculators—so Hartmann thought—had gained glimpses of the great truth that the Unconscious is the central principle of philosophy, and the central power of the world. But the bold and ardent young Pessimist of Germany claimed to have been the first to bring this truth into the full light of day.

We intuitively know that many of our own actions are the expression of purpose; and analogy leads us to suppose that there is intention in Nature, that design may be recognized in the constitution of the world. There are, however, automatic movements and instinctive actions,—purposeful, without any consciousness of purpose. Unconscious Will is to be postulated as accounting for such movements as these.

Unconscious Will is regarded as the key to many mysteries.

What Christians refer to a Divine Artificer, who acts according to wisdom and goodness, Hartmann refers to the Unconscious Will. He thus accounts for the great emotions and impulses which are characteristic of humanity, for æsthetic and moral judgments, for *à priori* beliefs, for religious principles, and for the development of human history. So-called philosophy has given birth to no more signal master-piece of unreason than Hartmann's account of the emergence of Consciousness into

The genesis of Consciousness.

existence, out of a Universe governed by Unconscious Will. Consciousness is said to owe its being to the tearing away of the Representation from its mother-earth, *i.e.*, from the Will, to its realization of itself, and to the opposition of the Will to this emancipation of the Representation from its own control. The shock which follows this rebellion, the penetration of the Representation into the Unconscious, is Consciousness!

The reader will judge from these representations of Pessimist metaphysics, as to the likelihood of such writers producing a sober, credible, reasonable system of morals. It must be admitted that, however sophistical his reasoning, Hartmann has the art, when he comes to deal with real life, of interesting the curious, inquisitive reader. His aim is to depict the marvellous wisdom of the Unconscious! Leibnitz had taught, in the confidence of Optimism, that of all possible worlds this is the *best*. Schopenhauer had maintained the opposite theory that this world is the *worst* possible. Strangely enough, Hartmann holds, in language at least, by the belief of Leibnitz. How can this be Pessimism? The fact is, that Hartmann means that no worse world could have remained in existence, for, in his opinion, this world is so bad that no world at all would have been far better. Non-existence is preferable to this existence, and indeed to any existence that is possible!

Nonentity is preferable to existence.

The obvious question arises: Since human life is so wretched, how is it that men not only continue to live, but either find, or fancy that they find, in life compensation for its ills? The Pessimist's answer is: Men are reconciled to life by the power of successive illusions, devised by the craft and cunning of the Unconscious! If men saw existence as it really is, they would not submit to endure it. But nature has provided against such an issue. The unconscious Will has implanted in the human heart illusions so powerful, and so rapid in their successive appearance, that men are willing and even anxious to live.

The illusions by which the Unconscious Will induces men to live.

Three stages of illusion are described by Hartmann in a passage which has become somewhat famous.

1. Happiness is thought to be actually attainable in this present life. Such is the belief of youth, and of the childhood of the race. Reviewing in detail the several occasions of pleasure and satisfaction, Hartmann exhibits what he deems the excess in every case of pain over pleasure. The imagination is prompted to depict joys which are never realized. Health, youth, liberty, give no positive excess of pleasure. Love is not only disappointing; it is, for the individual experiencing it, an actual evil. Sympathy, friendship, family relations, yield no real happiness. Vanity, pride, glory, are all delusive. Religious edification has, it is true,

The first illusion: that this present life may yield happiness.

its own consolations; but in its higher stages joy is seldom attained, and then only by means of severe self-denial, whilst the lower stages of the religious life are accompanied by fear, doubt, and anguish. Immorality is practised for the sake of the gratification it is expected to yield; but on the whole it is productive of pain. The delights of science and art are accessible to but a small minority of mankind, and they render their cultivators liable to keen and varied suffering. Sleep and dreams bring no real, lasting relief. The quest of property is laborious, anxious, and disappointing. Hope itself is delusive and vain.

The vanity of earthly delights.

In this desultory and illogical way the Pessimist endeavours to show that, whilst nature urges men to seek enjoyment in a multiplicity of ways, she always mocks the victims she deludes. All is vanity: pains are many, and pleasures few.

The second illusion: that there is a heaven of felicity in the future.

2. The Unconscious is not satisfied to rob the present of all its joy; it attacks the future; first deluding men by promising blessings in immortality, and then blasting the hopes it has fostered. Those who have renounced all hope of happiness in this world may, nevertheless, look forward to a world to come, and may support and cheer themselves with the fond hope of eternal felicity. The religion of Christ is represented by Hartmann as corresponding with this phase of individual experience; for long centuries Christian

Faith has encouraged men to bear the ills of life with fortitude, upheld by the hope of blessedness hereafter. The Pessimist naturally makes it his business to exhibit the baselessness of such a hope, the utter vanity of the cherished expectation of the individual, conscious life beyond the grave.

The third illusion: that there is a bright prospect before human society on earth.

3. The great *Unconscious* power of the Universe has not, in these two stages of illusion, exhausted its malignant hostility to man. Amongst those who have ceased to hope, either for pleasure in this life, or for the joys of immortality, there are some who cherish bright anticipations of the future of humanity. Thus there opens up to many unselfish souls a golden dream. Hartmann presumes that many of his readers will, at this point, abandon his guidance, will refuse to cast away their hope of the amelioration of the human lot, will dare to anticipate that coming generations may find life a better and a brighter thing,—perhaps, in some slight measure, through their own efforts and sacrifices. He accordingly makes it his aim to cloud this bright vision of the future. He argues that there is no reasonable prospect of substantial improvement in the condition of mankind,—no ground for hoping that the progress of civilization, of art, of knowledge, of religion, will remove or relieve human ills, will bring any accession to human happiness. There is no more hope for humanity in this life than in any life to come.

The success of the charmer.

Thus the Unconscious flings her enchantments but too successfully over the sanguine and visionary nature of man, only to laugh at those whom she has ensnared. In Philosophy, comfort, strength, hope, are not to be found; her light is clear, but unsympathetic and cold. The veil of Maja is on the face of mortal men.

V.

The Pessimism of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann Explained.

Schopenhauer's central ethical doctrine was the essential evil and misery of Will. This is the spring of efforts the most painful, of desires the most unquenchable. Will awakens from the Unconscious, with boundless wants, and with inexhaustible claims. Every satisfied wish immediately begets a new craving. Thus Life proves itself a deceit, affording no satisfaction, no repose. Happiness may be imagined in the past or in the future, the present certainly knows it not, being filled with insatiable desire. The will to live still asserts itself under a thousand disappointments. What are old age and death but the sentence of condemnation, passed and executed by nature, upon man's will to live? The happiest moment of life is that of falling asleep, and forgetting life's wretchedness;

The energy of will arouses desire and effort which are destructive of happiness.

the most miserable moment is that of awaking to sad reality. Who would persevere in life were death less frightful?

The great principle of Pessimism is, that all life is suffering (alles Leben Leiden ist). Man, being what Schopenhauer calls "the most perfect objectification of the will to live," is of all beings the most necessitous, the most dissatisfied, and the most unhappy. He is constrained by his nature to long for what he has not. If he desires, and endeavours to obtain, such experience of effort is merely painful; if, on the other hand, he comes to possess what he seeks, possession takes away all charm from the object he has desired. Thus his alternative is between the wretchedness of unsatisfied desire, and the *ennui* of satiated possession; and in either case no happiness can be realized!

The many who seek are wretched because of unsatisfied desire; the few who find are wretched because of *ennui*.

It is part of the Pessimistic doctrine that nothing is absolutely good, although some things are better than others, that pain is positive, and that pleasure is only negative. This unjust and gloomy *dictum* is in opposition to Leibnitz's optimistic judgment, that pleasure is positive, and pain is negative only. There does not seem to be much meaning in the language so employed. The two are opposites, and the affirmation of the one is the denial of the other. But both pleasure and pain are real, actual experiences. By asserting that pleasure is only negative, the Pessimists intend to depreciate its

Pain is positive; pleasure is negative.

value, and so far the epithet is one it is unfair to apply. Just as pleasure is nothing but the negation of pain, so right is merely the negation of wrong: a dogma evidently intended to disparage rectitude and duty.

The hatred felt by the Pessimists for Optimism.

The Pessimist not only differs from the Optimist, he regards the Optimistic system with hatred, as "an impious system." He who maintains that all things are for the best, and that happiness is within the reach of man, is regarded as holding a doctrine which is a reproach and insult to the human lot, as a lot of necessary and ceaseless suffering. It is thus made every man's duty, if the word "duty" is admissible, to be miserable himself, and to account all other men equally miserable.

It is an obvious question to ask: If existence be so evil, and if death be annihilation, why does not the Pessimist put an end, by suicide, at once to life and to suffering? But his answer is, that the suicide is a witness to the value of life, and to the evil of pain only, for he slays himself—not to escape life—but to avoid pain. Physical suicide is vain. Moral suicide should be tried. Let a man be truly wise, and see the vanity of willing; let him by meditation rise above volition, and so seek annihilation, which alone is blessedness; let him quit the life of effort, and enter the Nirvana of eternal rest!

Suicide is condemned, as prompted, not by hatred of life, but by hatred of pain.

The only prospect for humanity which can afford

any comfort is the prospect of annihilation. This, according to the Pessimist theory, is to be brought about (as has been said) by a denial of the will to live. But there is upon this point a difference, almost amusing to consider, between the two German champions of the doctrine. The elder—Schopenhauer—would have each man act for himself, and negative that will to live which involves men in misery so great. The younger—Hartmann—thinks that each man should for the present affirm the will to live, and that efforts should be made to promote amongst men a knowledge of the cause and of the cure of life's wretchedness, so that a general determination may in due time be arrived at by all the members of the race, who may by one great and combined effort achieve the wished-for and happy result, the extinction of human life and consciousness, and the relapse into universal oblivion and repose!

Schopenhauer would have each man deny the will to live.

Hartmann would have the individual affirm the will to live until all men are prepared simultaneously to deny it.

Meanwhile, however, it is fair to remark that the exponents of the system have done little in the way of example to further the desiderated end. Schopenhauer was a sensual and selfish hermit, who husbanded his inherited resources, and lived in misanthropy indeed, but in comfort, to a fair old age, fearing nothing more than sickness and death. Hartmann lives, it is said, a happy family life, in competency and elegance, and in social esteem.

The inconsistency between profession and actual life.

It would not, indeed, be fair in every case to test doctrines by the life and practice of their exponents and promulgators. But it is instructive to remember that the greatest missionaries of the world have been men whose conduct has accorded with their teaching. Sakya Mouni, the founder of the Oriental Pessimism, renounced the position, the dignities, the wealth, the opportunities of ease and enjoyment to which he was born, and lived a self-sacrificing life of sympathy and charity amongst men. Paul, the apostle of Christ to the Gentiles, was not satisfied with bidding men live, not to themselves, but to the Lord; he actually did count all things but loss for his Saviour's sake, and lived, suffered, and died to promote the gospel he proclaimed. Very different has been the practice of those who, in our own time, have made it their business to publish to their fellow-men the depressing tidings of a godless universe, and of irremediable despair!

The contrast in this respect between Sakya Mouni and Paul on the one hand, and Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann on the other.

The consolations of Pessimism.

It may be asked, What temporary practical relief or consolation does Pessimism offer? Divested of metaphysical terminology, the answer of Schopenhauer to this question is threefold.

Art.

1. *Art.* The works of genius, embodied in architecture, painting, poetry, and music, when contemplated by the mind, afford a real delight. The artist perceives and communicates the everlasting ideas, which are apprehended by pure contemplation,

and which are esteemed the substantial and enduring part of all the phenomena encountered in the world of sense. It will be observed by the reader that the author of *Natural Religion* has warmly adopted this part of the creed of Schopenhauer.

Sympathy.

2. *Sympathy.* All men are fellow-sufferers, and it is well to acknowledge this community in a heritage of woe. The admission that compassion and love are virtues to be cultivated, is the best feature in the Pessimist teaching; but instead of sympathy being based upon brotherhood in a divine family, it is here merely commiseration with those who are doomed to the same misfortunes with ourselves.

Asceticism.

3. *Asceticism.* The denial of the will to live will most appropriately take this form. Let a man refuse to be deluded by the craft of the unconscious Will, let him voluntarily abstain from the deceitful pleasures of this life, let him regard with indifference those interests which appear to be his, but which are in reality the interests of the species, let him be upon his guard against the delusive "principle of individuation," and he will do all that in him lies to defeat the machinations of the great enemy, and to secure the diminution of the ills of conscious and voluntary existence. The mystics, whose quietism is an abdication of the faculty of willing; the ascetics, whether Oriental or Christian, who live apart from society, and indifferent

to the pursuits and pleasures of mankind;—these have chosen the better part. For true salvation and release from life and its accompanying pain are utterly impossible without the abnegation of Will.

The estimation in which the Pessimist philosophers hold the Scriptures.

It is instructive to notice what is the attitude of the Pessimists towards the revealed Word of God. Schopenhauer makes a marked distinction between the Scriptures of the Old Testament and those of the New.

Their dislike of the general teaching of the Old Testament.

The Pessimists are severe, and even bitter, in their condemnation of what they regard as the Optimistic teaching and spirit of the Old Testament. Their resentment is roused by the account given in Genesis of the Creation, in which all things are pronounced to be "very good." The bright and cheerful view of human life, taken by the ancient Hebrews generally, is repugnant to the tastes and principles of the Pessimists; but certain passages, as for instance some of the mournful conclusions of the writer of Ecclesiastes, are more to their mind than the rest. The one Old Testament doctrine with which Schopenhauer is in full sympathy is that of the fall of man.

The Christianity of the New Testament, on the other hand, is commended, as according with the ethical spirit of Brahmanism and Buddhism! "In the New Testament . . . the world is represented as a vale of tears, life is a means of purifying the

soul, and an instrument of martyrdom is the symbol of Christendom."

Their approval of the New Testament is based upon a misconception.

Of *Redemption*, as propounded in the Christian Scriptures, Pessimism takes no notice. So far as Christ renounced the will to live, Schopenhauer approves His choice and His example. So far as the Christian takes up his Master's cross, *i.e.*, lives a life and dies a death of self-mortification, the Pessimist commends his conduct. But this mortification is, in his view, a mere abjuring of life's pleasures; and Christ's work he regards not as a rescuing of men from sin and destruction, but as an example of the renunciation of the will to live. The Christian rejoices in salvation, the Pessimist only hopes for annihilation. In the Pessimist's view Christianity represents the will to live as personified in Adam, with whom we sin; and that unwillingness to live, which is the only method of relief, as personified in Christ. But to the Christian his religion represents the Saviour as living and dying for man's deliverance from sin, and its curse and power. Life is indeed admitted to abound in suffering, but the inspired writers exhibit pain and weakness, sorrow and trouble, temptation and perplexity, as the appointed means of spiritual discipline, of progress in a God-ward course. The Pessimist views life's ills not so much as means by which we may, by God's grace, cease from *sin*, as means by which we may cease to *live*, and cease to

Christianity would deliver men from sin; Pessimism would deliver them from the misery of conscious being.

suffer. The Christian doctrine of salvation by faith, and not by works, is oddly distorted by Schopenhauer. In *works* he sees the expression of the will which he hates; but for him *faith* is in knowledge, and intellectual contemplation brings man some small relief from woe! Christianity holds out a prospect of improvement in the state of human society, and of a moral perfection to be attained in the eternal Hereafter. In Schopenhauer's judgment, all that man can do to ameliorate his condition is to turn away from life and its pains, and seek,—like the Hindu who longs for absorption into Brahma,—like the Buddhist who aspires to Nirvana,—to be restored to that nothingness which alone is painlessness and peace.

Opposition between Pessimism and Christianity.

No wonder that the great Pessimist preferred Catholicism to Protestantism; for its asceticism, monasticism, and mortification, were, in his view, wise exercises of the Will in the denial of life.

The Pessimist's preference of Catholicism to Protestantism.

It will assist the reader to realize the extraordinary and extravagant beliefs of the Pessimists if we collect and lay before him a few of the observations and reflections which human life has suggested to Schopenhauer. Some of them are shocking to the moral sensibility, and some of them approach blasphemy. But it is well that it should be understood what are the sentiments of a school credited by many in our day and in our civilized and Christian society with profound and practical wisdom.

Here are some statements regarding our existence generally:

"The end of human existence is suffering." "The life of man is a struggle for existence, with the certainty of being conquered;" "a voyage in which there is before every mariner the sure prospect of shipwreck." "It is the superior knowledge of man which renders his life more rich in suffering than that of the animals." "When we consider the suffering on this planet, we see that the moon, where is no life, is preferable to the earth." "Accustom yourself to consider this world as a penal colony." "The world, and consequently man, are such that they ought not to exist. A man should not address his neighbour as Sir! but as My fellow-sufferer!" "Considering life under the aspect of its objective worth, it is at least doubtful whether it is preferable to nothingness, and I would even say that, if experience and reflection could make themselves heard, it is in favour of nothingness that they would raise their voice." "The life of man oscillates, like a pendulum, between suffering and weariness."

The paradoxes of Pessimism.

Such being represented as the real condition of humanity, how is it accounted for that men are so little alive to their wretchedness? Here is the answer:

The illusions by which crafty Nature deceives men.

"Few men come to penetrate by reflection, the illusion of the principle of individuation. . . . Our will needs to be broken by a great suffering before it comes to renounce itself;"

i.e., man has to be taught, by bitter experience, that life yields no personal happiness, that nature is careless regarding the individual, and seeks only to secure her own blind ends.

Love and marriage are regarded with aversion, as the crafty means whereby the Unconscious (as Hartmann expresses it) perpetuates the race, and so perpetuates human misery.

mind, planning, governing, co-ordinating all things? It may be answered: Our minds are not capable of constructing the theory that seems to be required. We must content ourselves with the knowledge of phenomena. This reply is, of course, that of philosophical scepticism. It is to be observed, however, that those who profess to adopt this theory do not consistently carry it out, but constantly introduce ideas, laws, powers, —whenever it suits their purpose to do so,—in order to satisfy the natural desire for explanation and for unity. And there is no likelihood and no possibility of thinking men being content with a mere knowledge of phenomena; they will ever obey the intellectual demand for a knowledge of laws, causes, purposes, intellectual and moral aims.

Man's mind naturally looks for ideas, laws, causes, to account for phenomena.

Hence it is that theories have been devised which aim at satisfying the natural tendencies of men to theorize, and to construct satisfactory explanations of phenomena, without having recourse to what is sometimes called the hypothesis of a personal, rational, eternal, designing Creator and Lord. Pessimism has been described as offering a "metaphysic of materialism," as propounding a principle which may serve as a philosophical justification for atheism. We are told that it is far more reasonable to postulate an impersonal, unconscious Force—named Will—as the essence and cause of all material things and of all

Attempts to satisfy this intellectual longing without admitting a Personal Creator and Ruler.

living and all rational beings, than to believe in God. Now, it is difficult to understand what can possibly be meant by Purpose, unless a Being capable of foresight and of design be presumed, in whom purpose can reside, and operate, and by whom it can be carried into actuality. A greater absurdity than unconscious Will was never fashioned in the brain of an enthusiast. If we are told that by will we are to understand power, we ask, Whose power? or, The power of what Being, or Substance, or Cause? If an omnipotent will and an omniscient intelligence are included in the Unconscious, and if this Unconscious has accordingly created the mental and material universe, what can the Unconscious be, except another and misleading name for God, who—so far from being unconscious—is Himself Infinite Intuition and Infinite Reason? A more retrogressive and incredible doctrine than that of the Pessimists has never been devised, a doctrine so paradoxical as to set blind, unconscious Force above Reflection, Intelligence, and Reason!

Belief in God is philosophically more reasonable than belief in the Unconscious Will.

2. Another objection to the foundations of Pessimism is suggested by the unreasonableness of its psychology. If the blind Will, or the Unconscious, be the absolute existence, how can we account for the emergence of Consciousness? Religion has a very simple and sublime, and, to our minds, a very satisfactory answer to the inquiry as to the

The Psychology and Psychogeny of Pessimism are faulty.

origin of the human soul: "God made man in His own image," "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." But what does Pessimism say on this matter? According to Schopenhauer, the Will, moved by its blind and unconscious desire to live, at length reaches consciousness of itself in the human brain; but there also it loses all the illusions which had sustained, or rather bewildered it. The Will discovers, when in man it reaches the elevation of consciousness, that all reality is vain, that life is painful, that annihilation would be preferable. The height of perfection is the negation of the will to live. And, according to Hartmann, Consciousness arises through the shock which the Will experiences upon the rebellion of the Idea against the authority of its lord and master: when Representation penetrates into the Unconscious,—then Consciousness springs into being.

The failure of Pessimism to account for Consciousness.

Who can be convinced that this is a just account of the origin of the mind of man, of the faculties which observe and reason upon the facts of Nature? The passage from unconsciousness to consciousness is a passage which cannot be thought. One mechanical force is changed into another without break of continuity, for all such forces are naturally correlated. But the chasm between mechanical force and mind is a chasm which cannot be bridged.

3. We deny the assumption made by Schopenhauer regarding the character of volition. According to the Pessimist, Will, effort, is in itself evil, and is productive only of misery. Because man is destined to will, and to will to live, he is said to be destined to wretchedness. Pleasure is represented as something purely or predominatingly passive,—as is sensation, or the æsthetic perception. To desire, to strive after, to toil for, any supposed satisfaction, — this is depicted as of necessity evil.

The account of volition and effort given by the Pessimists is incredible.

Now, this doctrine is not likely to meet with much acceptance from healthy, energetic natures, nor indeed from any who consider the high value of resolution and strenuous effort. A sound philosophy of human nature regards will, endeavour, persistent striving after a worthy object, as the truest and noblest discipline of humanity. It is not just to account Will to be the master, and Reason the servant; on the contrary Reason prescribes both the ends and the means of life, and the Will is entrusted with the office of carrying out the purposes conceived, approved, and adopted. And the pursuit of reasonable and righteous ends is the best of all employments. Endeavour is the indispensable condition of our highest life, our most precious knowledge and experience, and, so far from being the chief cause of human misery, is the chief cause of the greater

Endeavour, in subjection to reason, is the glory of human nature.

part of our cheerfulness, contentment, and even happiness.

On the assumption of Pessimism, is it likely that man will be able to defeat the designs of Nature?

4. A very obvious objection to the Pessimistic remedy for the evils of existence, has often been urged. Granting the possibility of a conspiracy among men to put an end to human consciousness, granting that the measures taken may prove effectual, what guarantee is there that the whole tragedy will not be repeated? Is the crafty unconscious Will to be checkmated by the short-sighted wisdom of those in whom it has become objectified? Surely the same force, which in some way has given birth to consciousness, may well refuse to be defeated in its design by the machinations of its own offspring! The prospect of a final escape from life and all its attendant and inevitable miseries, is a prospect which the Pessimist cannot reasonably expect to realize. Nature will prove too strong for man.

VII.

The Error and Unfairness of the Pessimist's Representation of Life. The True Solution of the Problem.

Looking at the great question before us,—not now in the philosophical light in which it has just been considered—but in the light afforded by the daily experience of practical men, we do not hesi-

tate to say that the representation of human life given by the Pessimists is altogether unjust. It is their unfair custom to quote as the deliberate judgment of great and wise men, passages from their works, which in some cases evidently expressed a passing or occasional feeling of dissatisfaction or despondency. But a difference is to be observed between the hasty or passionate utterances of men in certain moods, — sincere enough at the time,—and deliberate judgments gathering up lifelong experience.

The injustice of the Pessimist's view of human life.

Thus, passages like the following, however touching in themselves, and however effective in quotation, are scarcely authorities for Pessimism. Petrarch wrote: "Mille piacer non vagliono un tormento" (A thousand pleasures are no compensation for a single agony). Voltaire testified: "Le bonheur n'est qu'un rève, et la douleur est réelle. Il-y-a quatre-vingt ans que je l'éprouve" (Happiness is but a dream, and pain is real. For eighty years I have experienced this). Calderon is quoted as having said: "The greatest crime of man is to have been born." Schopenhauer quotes, as descriptive of the ills of human society, the apophthegm: "Homo homini lupus" (Man is a wolf to his fellow-man).

Bitter sayings are often the fruit of bitter moods and bitter moments.

Language such as this may be quoted in abundance even from great and high-minded writers. And there are few men who, when vexed with the

cares of life, perplexed by its problems, disappointed in its projects, weary of its toils, have not now and again given way to the temptation to think and speak ill of this human existence. But let a just and impartial mind carefully consider the enjoyments, the comforts, the opportunities of healthful exercise of body and of mind which this life affords; and let him then compare them with life's inevitable evils, with sickness, suffering, distressing weariness, privation, and disappointment; and the result will be a conviction that the good, in the majority of cases, far outweighs the evil. This seems established by the fact that those who complain so bitterly of life are nevertheless usually most unwilling to part with it. They hold it dear, and use every method to prolong it. It is indeed not commonly from the afflicted that these complaints arise; they are very often the morbid utterances of the discontent cherished by the favoured and prosperous. Many of the illusions which make human life, in the view of the Pessimist, so grievously evil, are simply the result of his own sin. If men expect from life what it is not intended to yield, if they desire everything to minister at all cost to their own personal gratification, if they regard the creature more than the Creator, no wonder if they are rudely awakened from their dream, and discover to their dismay that universal enjoyment is not the great end of God's universe.

The actual enjoyments of human life are many, and outweigh its ills.

Life's evils are often the result of sin.

The philosophy of Pessimism may well be believed to have met with acceptance all the more, because the generation to which it has appealed is largely a materialistic, money-getting, pleasure-seeking generation. The royal author of the Book of Ecclesiastes seems to have sought satisfaction in all carnal delights, in the exercise of power, in the enjoyments of wealth, in the experience of material prosperity. And every reader of his instructive record of his thoughts and sentiments, must have had forced upon his mind the conclusion that his Pessimistic tone of mind was chiefly owing to the weariness of satiety to which he doomed himself—to the sinful endeavour to find satisfaction where satisfaction ought never to have been sought. This view of life continued until he was at length brought to the conclusion that the fear of God and the keeping of His commandments are the whole duty of man. The inclusion of this Book in the Canon of Scripture seems intended to remind men that this world cannot truly, fully, and for ever, bless those who regard created things rather than the Creator, the gifts rather than the Giver. The process by which the wise man came to his conclusion, "Vanity of vanities: all is vanity," is a process which multitudes have repeated, and it is not surprising that the result has been the same. Men yield themselves to the fascinations of sense, they become lovers of the world, they live for self,

They who seek satisfaction in this world must be disappointed; their Hedonism will by revulsion lead to Pessimism.

for pleasure, wealth, and fame. And they wake to find they have been chasing an *ignis fatuus*, that they have been speeding towards a mirage of the desert never to be reached. And their disappointment lands them in despair, and the wail of hollow hopeless misery evinces at once the emptiness of the world and the retribution of a righteous God.

If pleasure were the highest good, then indeed to many life would not be worth living.

If life is to be estimated simply by balancing pains and pleasures, it may be a question whether, in all cases, life is worth living. In the teeming cities of China, as is well known, life is held very cheap, and men are found willing, for a small sum of money, to undergo a death penalty in the place of a condemned criminal. There are even in Europe countries where poverty is so burdensome, and where the conditions of life are so hard, that to live must be to suffer rather than to enjoy. And there are those in all communities who, from birth or by accident, are so crippled and disabled that they have of necessity a lot of pain and of infirmity, with few capacities for pleasure, and with little prospect of the alleviation of affliction. There are also what are called unfortunate temperaments, disposed to irritability or to melancholy.

The lessons of religion alone can suffice to console the unfortunate.

Now, human beings whose lot is so pitiable, may well—supposing them to be without the principles and consolations of Religion—come to the conclusion that life is a burden, that to exist is to suffer, that it were better not to be. The only

way in which to bring to them true relief of mind, patience, fortitude, and hope, is to convince them of the care of a superintending Providence, to lead them by the path of faith into the rest of submission, and to inspire them with the hope that as they are chastened, not for God's pleasure, but for their own profit, so the time shall come when they will look back with gratitude upon the discipline appointed for them, and will recognize in it the means by which they were taught lessons inestimably precious, and made partakers of a happiness unspeakably glorious.

Enjoyment derivable from the right exercise of our faculties.

The Pessimists represent all conscious life and all active exertion as of necessity miserable. We contend that this representation is unjust. It is often said that in a state of health the mere consciousness of existence is happiness. Without going to such a length, we would ask the reader to consider the several faculties of his nature, and to put to himself the question, Is their exercise, naturally and on the whole, in their normal condition, pleasurable or otherwise? Our senses, sight and hearing, for example; are they not the occasion of hourly enjoyment? That we see unpleasant sights, and hear discordant sounds, is true, but it is undeniable that the active exercise of the senses yields a preponderance of pleasure. It will scarcely be contended that to become deaf and blind would be an advantage, as rendering a

man insensible to the usually disagreeable sights and sounds to which the possessor of these senses is necessarily exposed.—We are created with appetites and instincts; can it be seriously maintained that these are the occasions of more pain than pleasure? The same Power that has given the craving has also provided for the legitimate satisfaction of the craving. In varying degrees these natural and primitive impulses of our nature are evidently the means of almost constant enjoyment.—Our social affections, if duly regulated, are the sources of life-long pleasure. It is not denied that here we are especially vulnerable. But love and friendship, notwithstanding the assertions of Pessimists to the contrary, are the wealth of our humanity. And who will question that even the wounded heart is not without compensations?

Provision made for the legitimate satisfaction of our appetites and instincts.

Our social affections sources of pleasure.

> "'Tis better to have loved and lost,
> Than never to have loved at all."

The intellectual powers, again, in their just and temperate exercise, bring the purest delight. We are told that he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. True, yet the capacity for joy is enlarged with the susceptibility to unhappiness arising from doubt and a widened horizon of sympathy. In fact, whilst we admit that human existence is a chequered scene, and that only the superficial can pronounce life all pleasure,—we still maintain that the proper exercise of human

The exercise of our intellectual powers bring purest delight.

powers brings satisfaction and happiness to the thoughtful and virtuous man. The arrangements of our life are decisive as to the benevolence of the Creator.

Existing evils admitted

But do we deny the existence of evils,—of pain, disease, and privation? of sorrow and disappointment? of bereavement and anguish? By no means. The ills of human existence are real, and in very many cases are such that, if life were to be judged by a balancing of pains and pleasures, it would not be worth living. But those who believe in God, as revealed in the Scriptures, as manifested in Christ, are not without some kind of key to these phases of human experience. There is no malevolence in the Divine government. On the contrary, the ills as well as the joys of life are intended for the truest, highest good of men. Such good is not necessarily and always secured by trouble and sorrow. But in some measure it is so secured in the case of the submissive and obedient disciple of Christ, who learns to wear his Master's yoke, to bear his Saviour's cross. It is his happy conviction that whom He loveth God chasteneth, that they who partake Christ's death shall share His life, that if they suffer with Him they shall also reign with Him.

The key to the explanation of them.

In fact, there is no possibility of understanding the perplexities of the human lot except by the perception of the two greatest facts in human

Sin and Redemption

history,—Sin and Redemption. Sin accounts for the greater part of human misery, which is not a sign of Divine heartlessness or indifference, but of the rule of a righteous moral Governor, who, in the maintenance of His authority, and for the highest good of His subjects, will not suffer sin to be unpunished. All this the Pessimistic theory overlooks.

The evil of the world not irremediable.

And the Christian is assured that the evil of the world is not irremediable. His belief in the redemption of man—body and soul—by the obedience and sacrifice of the Incarnate Son of God, itself saves him from Pessimism. The mediatorial work of Christ changes the curse into a blessing. If sin abounds, grace much more abounds. The power of the Saviour's love, the efficacy of the Holy Spirit's operations are such that in their presence no evil is invincible, despair gives way to hope, and earth's darkest shades are pierced and irradiated by the beams of a heavenly day.

VIII.

The Practical Evils connected with Pessimism. A Comparison between Pessimism and Christianity.

It will be well now to glance at the consequences which might be expected to follow the prevalence of each of the alternative systems: Pessimism and Christianity.

The prevalence of Pessimism would create discontent.

A very natural result of the adoption of Pessimistic views must needs be the general prevalence of depression and of discontent. Pessimism is worse than some other forms of error, inasmuch as it not only undervalues the enjoyments of the present, but takes from its disciple all hope either of an improved condition of human society in this world, or of a blessed immortality hereafter. What motive is left to labour for human welfare, when human welfare is believed to be an impossibility? Who can bear the inevitable ills of human life, when unsupported by any prospect of alleviation, any expectation of future happiness? To be other than depressed, melancholy, and discontented, would in a Pessimist be unreasonable and inconsistent. What would be the consequence of the general acceptance of such views as those described? Fancy a society, a nation, a world of Pessimists! It would become a society, a nation, a world of

madmen! And individuals adopting such principles could not fail to be a source of wretchedness in any community.

Pessimism would rob Humanity of hope.

The "strength-inspiring aid" of hope is no inconsiderable factor in human society. This has been well expressed by Coleridge in the familiar lines:—

> "Work, without hope, draws nectar in a sieve;
> And hope without an object cannot live."

A community of persons deprived of all expectation of individual happiness and social progress must be utterly paralyzed for all honest toil, all heroic self-devotion, all patient endurance. And if expectations are cherished, only to prove illusions, and to mock the misery of the disappointed, the case must be, if possible, even worse; by how much a cynical despair exceeds in wretchedness a settled stolid gloom.

It would encourage vice.

As to the morality which would accompany the popular acceptance of the Pessimistic theory, we may safely say that that theory supplies but few restraints from vice and crime, and but few motives to virtue. Asceticism might be the result in some few cases, but experience of human nature leads to the belief that the denial of God and the cultivation of hopelessness would more frequently issue in self-seeking and sensuality.

Compare the influence of the two systems respectively upon the conduct of human life. Men

by their constitution and their circumstances are, generally speaking, required to *work* and to *suffer*. That these are two great provinces of moral discipline can scarcely be questioned. The proportion of those who are exempt from toil and from "trials," and who, as life-long favourites of fortune, are largely occupied in enjoyment, is too small to be taken into account. Take human life at the average, and Christian and Pessimist will agree that it is chiefly occupied with bodily or mental toil, varied with frequent experiences of weakness, pain, sorrow, and disappointment. It is a fair test of the two theories of life, to consider which of them is the more fitted to assist men in the discharge of necessary duty, and in the endurance of inevitable trouble.

The influence of Pessimism and Christianity upon human nature and life compared.

Why should the Pessimist work with cheerfulness, diligence, and perseverance? The effort which is necessary is, in his apprehension, itself an evil. The ends to be attained by labour are for him the mere illusion created for its unconscious purposes by an unconscious force, having no excellence, and affording no satisfaction. In labour, he feels himself the wretched and passive instrument of a power which he hates. Nor is there any prospect of future results which can inspire the worker with a bright anticipation. He is satisfied that no real good can result from human effort. Human nature is essentially bad and unimprovable. Human life

Man must work; but the Pessimist has no sufficient motive to labour, nor to endure affliction.

is evil, and the alleviations are few and slight. Human history has no future to be contemplated with satisfaction, save the prospect of its own eternal annihilation. Why should the Pessimist consent to work for himself or for others?

On the other hand, Christianity places work in the highest position, and furnishes the worker with the highest motives.

On the other hand, let it be considered what motives the plainest and the least fortunate of Christians has to fulfil what he believes to be his appointed task, to pass through what to him is an ordained probation and discipline. His active nature he regards, not as a curse, but as a blessing; in its exercise he fulfils the true functions of his nature, realizes his ideal of human excellence, acquires those virtues which are the crown and glory of his being. To him, daily work is not the enforced service of a cruel serfdom, the tribute wrung from him by the violence of a ruthless tyrant. It is rather the opportunity of showing his fidelity and gratitude to a benevolent Ruler, an honoured and beloved Father. What he does, he aims at doing "as unto the Lord, not to men." Remembering his Master's words: "My meat and my drink is to do the will of my Father in heaven," he makes it his daily business to tread in that Master's steps, and to please and glorify his God.

Christianity imparts fortitude and hope to the sufferer.

But it is not to be lost sight of, that the Christian is not exempt from the afflictions which befall men generally. It is instructive to observe, however, that these afflictions are, in his view, neither un-

mitigated evil nor unrelieved by a prospect of their serving as means to highest good. They are believed and they are found, in common with all experiences providentially appointed, to "work together for good to them that love God;" and they are also believed to work out for such "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

A comparison such as this furnishes us with the best reasons—as practical beings—for congratulating ourselves upon being Christians rather than Pessimists. Strength to work and strength to suffer, doubtless depend, to no small extent, upon the convictions which, as intelligent persons, we cherish with regard to our present position and our future prospects. Pessimism is not only unwarranted by reason; it is condemned by experience as an unpractical and unworkable system. A community of Christians who lived up to their Christianity, would be heaven; a community of Pessimists who lived down to their Pessimism, would be hell.

Reason and experience concur in approving Christianity, and in condemning Pessimism.

Let Pessimism triumph, and become the Philosophy, the Religion, of the future; and what will the future witness? The brightest prospect which opens up is a prospect of universal destruction, annihilation, the cessation of consciousness; and that can scarcely be called in any sense a prospect, which is the prevalence of unconsciousness, of infinite, eternal night.

The awful prospect, should Pessimism triumph.

The glorious consequences of the victory of Christianity.

Let Christianity be victorious, and realize the purposes and the predictions of its Divine Founder, and how utterly opposite, how unspeakably more blessed and glorious, the future of humanity! When all men are drawn unto Christ by the attractive power of His Cross, and by the gracious constraint of the Comforter whom He has sent; when the one new humanity is constituted and is complete in Him; when the reign of righteousness is established, and the law of love is supreme: then shall the spiritual Kingdom of the Eternal have come, and then shall the Will of the Holy Father,—not the blind, unconscious, imaginary force which the Pessimists have fashioned into an idol, before which they have fallen down and worshipped,—then shall the WILL of the HOLY FATHER be done on Earth as in Heaven!

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD

IN RELATION TO

HIS WORK OF ATONEMENT

BY

WILLIAM ARTHUR

Argument of the Tract.

THE question: Was Christ a mere creature, or God manifest in the flesh? Was His work the fulfilment only of a mission, or a work of Atonement? If He was not God, and did not make an Atonement, Christianity gained its triumphs under false pretences. Three New Testament witnesses cited—Peter, Paul, John. Reference is made only to the Epistles of Peter and Paul and the Apocalypse. The habitual testimony of Peter to the Person of Christ as divine, to His work as an atonement for sin. His special testimony at the council of Jerusalem. His mode of viewing and estimating salvation and a Saviour.

The testimony of Paul: his habit of viewing salvation, and the method whereby Christ saved. His habit of associating together the names of Christ and God, of interchanging them, and connecting both with the same ascribed acts or honours. His setting forth of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, as God's declaration and manifestation of His own righteousness in saving the sinful. The notion of either oblivion for offences, or else pardon merely upon repentance, as a plan of moral government, not tenable.

The testimony of John: vision of the First and the Last: vision of the Lamb; of the flight and cry of the notables, of the sealed multitude, of the company on Zion, of the City, of the river of water of Life. The whole Apocalypse a revelation of Divinity and Atonement.

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD

IN RELATION TO

HIS WORK OF ATONEMENT.

MONG the numberless inquiries that spring out of the one prolific question, What think ye of Christ? two are obviously momentous and central: Was He whom men knew as Jesus of Nazareth, only a created being, or was He truly God manifest in the flesh? And, Was the work He accomplished in living and dying only the fulfilment of a mission of gentler and purer culture for mankind, or was it also a work of atonement for the sins of the world? In discussing these two questions I shall not attempt to lead the argument along the ordinary lines, or to tender evidence from all the acknowledged sources. On the contrary, I shall content myself with three witnesses: Peter, reputedly and probably the oldest, and John the youngest, of those who were attendants on our Lord in life, with Paul, one born out of due time, one who did not

The questions to be answered.

The witnesses cited.

learn to know Jesus of Nazareth either in Capernaum or on the Lake, either on Tabor or Olivet, but who received the true knowledge of what He was from amid the brightness that overshone the midday sun. Before hearing these three witnesses, I shall make one preliminary remark.

Preliminary remark.

If we took up the position that in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ there was no incarnation of the Godhead, and that in the work of His life and death there was no atonement for sin, we should be obliged to take up also the position that Christianity has gained her triumphs under false pretences. Among curiosities of literature, a curiosity rare indeed would be the history of an apostle of some nation who had led them from dumb idols to serve the living God, by preaching that the person of Christ was that of a creature—that His life was merely a mission, and His death merely a martyrdom. The records of a heathen community converted by such preaching are not to be found.

To what the triumphs of Christianity are due.

But, on the other hand, it is easy to find records, ancient and modern, of triumphs won by Christianity through her missionaries dwelling on the wondrous love of God to man, as displayed in the person of Immanuel, in the person of God with us, of God manifest in the flesh, of Him who was at one and the same time the Mighty God, and to us "a Child born,"—at one and the same time the "Everlasting Father," and to us "a Son given."

If the triumphs whereby churches were originally planted are traceable to the preaching of a Divine Jesus and of a redeeming death, so also are those internal triumphs of vitality reasserting itself over decay by which churches having a name to live, but really dead, were again quickened with the powers of an inward life. Whether we take the cases of particular churches in which a marked revival has arisen to check progressive decay, to initiate new eras of power, or whether we take cases in which a whole range of nations and churches has felt the return of vitality,—it is always true that the men through whose ministry Christianity has risen again as if from her own embers, have been men whose hearts were full of the glory of Christ, as One with the Father.

Revival of dead churches due to the same cause.

Of all those who during the middle ages, with greater or less power, combated death, where was there one whose gospel was without an incarnate God—without a propitiating sacrifice for sin? And when the breath of the Reformation breathed, who among the mighty of that restoration proclaimed a Christ who was not God, a crucifixion which was not His offering up of Himself for our redemption, or a Holy Ghost who was nothing more than an attribute or an influence, who was less than the living Spirit of the Father and the Son? And when, in modern times, men have gone forth to tell—here the Greenlanders, there the Red

The Christ proclaimed by the reformers.

Indians, yonder the Hindus, and elsewhere the Africans and Polynesians—of the blessings brought to mankind in the Gospel, were they men who would have gone so far or would have gone any distance to preach a Saviour who was less than divine? We now turn to our three witnesses.

I.

Peter's testimony.

WHEN Peter addressed himself to the crowds of Israelites in Jerusalem, to the few selected Gentiles in the dwelling of Cornelius, or to widespread churches of those who, with himself, had obtained the precious Christian faith, he did so in each case as a man for whom that faith was itself a grace given and obtained "through the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ."[1] It was as a man for whom the multiplying of grace and peace in human souls sprang equally from "the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord,"[2] as a man whose soul, in seeking to promote the glory of God, knew not how to do it without lifting up the name of Jesus above every created name, and crying—as cry he never would for saint, prophet, angel, or archangel—"To Him be glory both now and for ever. Amen."[3] Far other from what the man Peter in reality was would he have been, whether in presence of the Jews, the Pagans, or the Christians, had he come to speak to them only

[1] 2 Pet. i. 1. R.V.

The motive power of it.

[2] 2 Pet. i. 2.

[3] 2 Pet. iii. 18.

of a prophet who was, in respect of John the Baptist, no more than what John was in respect of earlier messengers of God. It was the felt glory of his Lord that transfigured him from the timorous spectator of the humiliation into the fearless witness to the exaltation—that emboldened him to charge home upon the men of Jerusalem a crime such as had never before been laid at the door of human being—a crime to express which language seemed as if it must be overstrained—"Ye killed the Prince of life."[1]

The source of his boldness.

[1] Acts iii. 15.

For him that death—the death of the "Prince of life"—was not a loss to be bemoaned, as had been that of the highest prophet, as was even the translation of Elijah. For him that death was not merely the sufferings of Christ; it must be looked upon in the light of the glory that followed; and, so looked upon, it was the very redemption of our souls. The blood that fell from the agonising Jesus was not merely the dye of a crime, not merely the red rain of a catastrophe, not merely the climax of a martyrdom. It was the precious blood of Christ, wherewith we are "redeemed"[2]—blood so precious, that the things which, in comparison with it, were to be called "corruptible," were precisely those which, in comparison with human flesh and blood, in comparison with our ordinary goods and valuables, would, by us, be called incorruptible—namely, silver and gold.

What the death of Christ meant for him.

[2] 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.

Peter and his fellow-believers

Faith in this Lord and Saviour, faith in this incorruptible price, was the soul of Peter's own life, the fire of his ministry; and to it did he bear witness as the light and joy of his fellow believers. He had seen the Lord—they had not; yet did they look for His appearing. His eyes had gazed upon the Lamb slain, when He was no longer the Lamb dead; though still, even then, when alive again, He bore upon Himself the marks of the spear and of the nail. But they had seen Him not; and yet they felt, as Peter felt, that the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world, and that He would live for ever as a Lamb as it were slain. They had not, indeed, been called to look upon or touch His hands or His side, but they had, through the power of the Holy Spirit, felt the "sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ."[1] Therefore, though they had not seen Him, "yet, believing in Him, they rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory."[2] And why did they so rejoice? Because they had consciously received that which, in the act of believing, they sought—namely, salvation; "receiving the end of your faith—the salvation of your souls."[3] They believed in a Saviour, they received salvation; they believed in a triumphant Saviour, they received an unspeakable joy; they believed in a Saviour, who, though He once bowed down to death for them, "bare their sins in His body on

[1] 1 Pet. i. 2.

[2] 1 Pet. i. 8.

[3] 1 Pet. i. 9.

the tree,"[1] had now entered into His glory, being "by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost."[2] This glory, beheld by the eyesight of the soul, by a living faith, this Holy Spirit poured out by the enthroned Jesus, filled up the joy wherewith His sons rejoiced, till it became, even in heaviness and temptation, a joy unspeakable and full of glory.

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 24.

[2] Peter in Acts ii. 33.

A Peter to whom Christ had been less than divine —a Peter to whom the blood of Christ had not been atoning blood—never could have spoken in such terms. No more could those terms have been comprehended and responded to by any people but one to whom Christ was all that He was to Peter, to whom the sprinkling of His blood was verily that of their passover slain for them, that of Him by "whose stripes they were healed;"[3] healed not alone by His lessons and ministry, not alone by the healthful air of His example and the pure shining of His truth, for such healing is for them who are infirm only, not for them who are guilty. They were healed by His stripes when He "was wounded for our transgressions, when He was bruised for our iniquities, when the chastisement of our peace was upon Him."[4] Ay! the chastisement of our peace! The work He had to do for us was not merely to instruct our ignorance, or to strengthen our weakness. He had to make

Only a Divine Christ and an atoning sacrifice could have been spoken of in the language used by Peter.

[3] Isa. liii. 5

[4] *Ibid.*

The work Christ had to do.

The peace to be made.

our peace: our peace with a broken law; our peace with an authority set at naught; our peace with a righteousness grievously wronged; our peace with all those principles of moral government which make death the wages of sin; our peace with every dutiful and unsinning one among our better brethren, the angel sons of God; our peace with all things visible and invisible; so that when we should claim a place among the blessed in the Father's house, the question should not be raised whether within its sacred inclosure innocence and guilt, obedience and disobedience, were henceforth to be equally at home. And this peace was to be made at the price of such a chastisement that when the guilty should appear lifted up to the same level as the guiltless, when the defiled should be brought forth shining as brightly as the undefiled, it should be known—should be seen—should be felt for ever that this, as it was not a thing that came by nature, not a thing that came by right, so was it also not a thing that came of remissness, but one that was brought to pass because the sin of the guilty had been expiated by a death making louder proclamation of its odiousness and heinousness than could have been made by the wreck of all creation—brought to pass because, through His death, the robes of the defiled had been washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb.

The price to be paid.

We might sum up the belief, feeling, life, and

ministry of the Apostle Peter in words of his own, spoken in one of the great historical utterances of his life—that, namely, delivered at the Council of Jerusalem: "We believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved."[1] Here we have the immortal hope of Christianity—a belief "that *we shall be saved.*" We have the confession that our salvation is not of nature, not a matter of course, not of merit, not of right, but of grace. "We believe that *through grace* we shall be saved." We have, further, the Christian faith as to who is the Author of salvation; the grace through which we are saved is the grace of "*our Lord Jesus Christ.*"

Summary of the belief, feeling, life, and ministry of Peter.

[1] Acts xv. 11.

In weighing the import of this typical confession, we must bear in mind that Peter was not one in whose manner of conceiving of salvation it was a little thing. He was not one who took it for granted that salvation must come of itself to all, in the very nature of things. He was not one who thought that even the ungodly and the sinner would, after all, be saved, must be saved, or else the universe would be harshly governed, and its Ruler would be exposed to reproach. With him salvation for the sinful, eternal glory given to those who had by acts and deeds merited eternal shame, was a great salvation—a salvation so great, that even the righteous could scarcely be saved; and as to the unrighteous, his simple reply to all

Peter's conception of salvation

questioning was, if it be a great work to give salvation to the righteous, "where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear."[1]

[1] 1 Pet. iv. 18.

The effect of substituting any other name for the name of Christ in Peter's testimony.

Now such being Peter's habitual mode of conceiving of salvation, I cannot but wonder whether those who look upon our Lord Jesus Christ as being a mere man, similar to any of the prophets, can, in their own minds, form an idea of Peter saying to assembled apostles and elders, "We believe that we shall be saved through the grace of John the Baptist," or through the grace of Elijah, or of Moses, or of Father Abraham. And I also wonder whether any of those who look upon our Lord as being in nature an angel, can conceive of Peter saying, "We believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the angel Gabriel," or any higher angel. It is certain that every reader of the New Testament would feel that the exchange of the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the utterance of Peter, for any name of man or angel, would be a shocking departure from all New Testament usage—from all the fundamental modes of thought which pervade its sacred pages. There is no creature name that can be interchanged with that name; there is but one name that can be interchanged with it. It would be no shock to any one's sense of New Testament usage, to any one's sense of its prevalent modes of thought, were it said, "We believe that we

No creature name interchangeable with it.

shall be saved through the grace of God;" and, with those words in our ears, it would be no shock to hear again, and to hear immediately, "We believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved." God was in Christ, and Christ was God; therefore may the two names be interchanged. We believe that by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved; we believe that by the love of God we shall be saved; we believe that by the communion of the Holy Ghost we shall we saved. And beyond these three names, there is no name in earth or heaven of which Christians at any time could profess and testify: "We believe that through His grace we shall be saved." These three names had been fused by the Lord Himself, when risen from the dead, into one name; and infused as such into the very life-blood of the Church, into her organic action, so as to become inwoven in the tissues of every member of the body, so as to be marked bright upon her brow. This had He done when He declared that all power was given to Him in heaven and in earth, and commanded that His disciples should go and make disciples of all nations, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." [1]

The names of the Father, the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, interchangeable.

The three fused into one by the risen Saviour.

[1] Matt. xxviii. 19.

II.

The testimony of Paul.

If such, then, is the testimony borne by the life and sayings of Peter, what is that borne by those of Paul, the other great actor in the Acts of the Apostles? Did he look upon himself as having taken up a cross which did not represent a sacrifice for the sin of the world, as having become the ambassador of a master who was not the King of kings and Lord of lords? No one will doubt that the aspect in which the Lord Jesus was most frequently present to the mind of Paul was that of a Saviour—the one aspect which illuminated others, and modified them all. It is by this particular aspect of Saviour that is most naturally drawn out to view the conception entertained of our Lord's person, as either divine or not divine; and of His work, as being a propitiation for sin, or not being so. When Paul spake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in what sense was He to him Lord, and in what sense was He to him a Saviour?

His prevailing conception of Christ and of His work.

Salvation did not appear to be an easy thing to him.

As of Peter, so of Paul must it be noted that he was not one of those to whose view salvation appears as a very easy thing—if not, indeed, a thing eventually inevitable. When he thought of Saul of Tarsus, a chief of sinners, it seemed to him that it was not without a wonder of mercy

—not without the intervention of a Saviour, for ever to be adored—that the sinner had escaped being lost. When he thought of Paul the apostle, the sinner who had obtained mercy, it seemed to him that the boon was so vast that it could come only by grace, not as a matter of course; yea, by grace "exceeding abundant"[1]—a fulness of grace that evoked from his soul the doxology: "Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen."[2] When he thought of his unbelieving kinsmen of the line of Abraham, their salvation, in the long run, did not seem to him so much a matter of course that he might be at ease. Shame and sorrow, toil and destitution, blows, stripes, chains; the dock, the dungeon, the barrack-room, the gallows-tree, were all to him things to be deliberately walked up to, "if by any means he might save some of them."[3] If he looked at mankind at large, he never marked out either a class who have no need of a Saviour, or a class who cannot possibly be lost eventually, or a class who—living and dying impenitent—will be put out of pain, or a class who will be saved after death. To him all men are lost, and the salvation of any is a great salvation. The universe on which, for him, fell the lights of nature and revelation, was not a universe wherein the aggressor or offender was always assured of

He regarded it as a vast boon bestowed by abounding grace.

[1] 1 Tim. i. 14.

[2] 1 Tim. i. 17.

His view of it in connection with his unbelieving kinsmen.

[3] Rom. xi. 14.

His view of it in relation to mankind at large.

His view of the universe.

eventually recovering himself; not a universe in which pain was an evil more to be dreaded than wrong; not one in which wrong was always certified that it would incur only terminable pains. It was a universe in which pain and penalty were ofttimes the merciful ministers of protection and quietness. It was one in which the same source of justice dispensed, with equal beneficence, "tribulation and anguish to every soul of man that doeth evil," and "glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good."[1] It was one in which the course of nature showed the way of transgressors to be hard, and the end of persistent transgression to be ruin irreparable. That universe was one from whose death-beds the veil had once, and only once, been drawn, and that by Him who alone was empowered to withdraw it; by Him who alone saw, with equal clearness, through the light of life and the shades of death; who, of all teachers that ever spoke, was alone the Lord both of the dead and the living. He, therefore, in withdrawing the veil, passed not beyond His place. Withdraw it He did, and the world beyond the veil, which, in so doing, He displayed to the eyes of His servants, Peter, and John, and Paul, was not a world in which no one lifted up his eyes in hell, in which no one was in torments; not a world in which they who had passed away impenitent were assured that the path to mercy

[1] Rom. ii. 9. 10.

would still remain open, and in which they who in life neglected the great salvation, and hardened their hearts against the voice of law and gospel, were certified that, later still, some other voice more effectual would change their wayward will.

Paul's preaching.

But the question is, did Paul preach Christ as a fellow-creature saving His fellow-creatures, or as the Son of God, One with the Father, saving the sons of men? Did he preach Him as saving men without an atonement, merely by counsel, example, institutions, and methods of moral amelioration; or did he, on the contrary, preach Him as saving them by the propitiation of His own blood, from which, as from a fountain, flowed all the institutes of religion, and all the lessons of revealed truth?

His language in reference to Christ and His work.

Men are capable of doing great violence to the sense of Holy Scripture. But, for my own part, I cannot conceive of any man first sitting down and marking in the words of St. Paul all the passages wherein our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is spoken of, either in general terms as saving us, bringing us to God, reconciling us to God; or in particular terms as bringing to us individually and bestowing upon us forgiveness of sins, washing and regeneration, peace of soul, love to God, the witness of the Spirit to our adoption, the joy of the Holy Ghost, meetness for heaven, triumph over death, a blessed rest after death

until the resurrection, a wondrous perfecting of spirit, soul, and body into one immortal and incorruptible manhood at the resurrection, and, after such perfecting, an eternal day of life and glory for ever with the Lord: I cannot conceive of any one noting all these passages, and then saying, "This man preaches a creature saving his fellow-creatures—preaches a Saviour who saves without making an atonement."

Inconceivable that Paul preached a creature-saviour, or salvation without atonement.

If ever there was a case in which a community of men might have called a fellow-man their Saviour, it was surely that of the Israelitish nation and Moses. By counsels, precepts, statutes, and institutions did he form the people, off whose neck he had broken the yoke of servitude,—formed them into a living nation which permanently endured. They fully recognized the part he played. But all down the long line of Jewish writers, to whom his name is precious, where can one be found, who, even for an instant, by a single incautious epithet or unseemly coupling, runs any risk of appearing to confound this great and elect servant of God with his Divine Master? Great as servant could be, he is never associated for a moment with praise and prayer, with faith and hope, with worship or with blessing. Any association of his name with the name of the Lord as if the one naturally coupled with the other—any ascription to him of other act than that of a

The position and work of Moses.

No Jewish writer ever confounds him with his Divine Master.

minister, an accountable servant, would have been abhorrent to every Biblical Jew. The divine name, prerogatives, and rights, were ever held as high above those of servants as were the sun and moon above the lamps of earth. This Jewish veneration for the name of God, this Jewish bourn of severance between all ministers and the seat of supreme authority and honour—a Jordan running strong and swift between creature and Creator—characterized Paul, in a degree as high as ever any other man. And of impossibilities, none could be to our conception more impossible than that he should tolerate on the part of any one the linking together in one benediction for the Israel of God, in the first place the name of Moses the Mediator, in the second place that of the Father Eternal, and in the third that of Aaron the Anointed Priest; nothing more impossible than that he, in his own writing and preaching, should habitually lay himself open to the appearance of speaking in one and the same tone of creature and Creator—of so interchanging names, attributes, and offices, as to suggest an identification between them.

Paul shared the Jewish reverence for the name of God.

This, then, being so, what is, nevertheless, his ordinary manner of speaking respectively of God, and of Him who from the flaming sky said to him, "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest?"[1] Does he, as between these two names, keep up a careful discrimination between the glory of

How he speaks of Christ.

[1] Acts ix. 5.

Important questions.

the Creator and that of every other? Does he take care to connect with allusions to Christ some note of merely created nature which would serve to check any ascription to Him of divine honours? Does he, as they were wont to do with Moses, call Jesus "the Man of God?"[1] Does he, as did Elisha, when he had seen Elijah ascend, take care in his invocation not to call upon Elijah, but upon the God of Elijah? for as he smote the Jordan, he cried not "Where is Elijah?" but he cried, true to the worship of one God, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?"[2] Does Paul habitually place Jesus among any class of God's honoured creatures, and habitually dissociate Him from union with the Father; or does he, on the contrary, when speaking of commissioned teachers or any creatures ministering for God, habitually set Jesus apart and alone, and at the same time, when speaking of the Father, of His works, offices, gifts, and mercies, habitually set the Lord Jesus in intimate association as verily one with Him?

[1] Josh. xiv. 6.

[2] 2 Kings ii. 14.

The evidence of his Epistles.

With this question in view, it is a solemn thing and a glad one to go over the epistles of Paul—from Romans to Philemon. In these writings, the prevalent thought and feeling of the author in regard to the person of Christ and His work for sinners is not to be painfully disentangled from under overshadowing thickets of foreign

matter. Those two points are the great matter. Upon them is the feeling of the writer ever welling up as a spring close by the everlasting hills—a spring sending forth streams with a rushing sound of force. Does he speak of himself and his fellow-labourers? They are now the apostles of God,[1] and now the apostles of Jesus Christ.[2] Does he speak of himself in particular? he is now a servant of God,[3] and now a servant of Jesus Christ;[4] and far from him was the idea that, in so speaking, he laid himself open to the charge of serving two masters. Does he speak of the source of the apostolic office? now it is the will of God,[5] now it is the will of Christ;[6] now it is the will of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, spoken of as one authority.[7] Does he speak of his sacred message? it is the word of God,[8] and the word of our Lord Jesus Christ;[9] the gospel of God,[10] and the gospel of Christ.[11] Does he speak of the power to which was due the efficacy of all ministers? it is now the power of God,[12] now the power of Jesus Christ,[13] now the power of the Holy Ghost.[14] Does he particularly relate the manner in which a dispensation of the Gospel was committed to himself personally? he describes the Lord Jesus speaking to him from out of the brightness above that of the midday sun, and saying,[15] "I make thee a minister. . . . I send thee to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness unto light, and

His language concerning himself and his fellow-labourers.

1 1 Cor. iv. 9.

2 2 Cor. i. 1.

3 Titus i. 1.

4 Rom. i. 1.

The source of the apostolic office. His message. Ministerial power. How the Gospel was committed to him.

5 1 Cor. i. 1.

6 1 Tim. i. 1.

7 Gal. i. 1.

8 2 Cor. iv. 2.

9 Rom. x. 17. R.V.

10 1 Thes. ii. 9.

11 Rom. xv. 19.

12 2 Cor. vi. 7.

13 1 Cor. v. 4.

14 1 Cor. ii. 4

15 Acts xxvi. 16.

from the power of Satan unto God?" Does he, in general terms state how this same dispensation was committed to him? he says God committed to him the ministry of reconciliation.[1] Does he speak of the gifts of the ministry? they are now the gifts of God,[2] now of Jesus Christ,[3] now of the Holy Ghost.[4] Does he speak of the working in them (the ministers) which set them in action, of the working by them which attested their mission, of the living in them which made them living temples? it is now the working and indwelling of God,[5] now of Christ,[6] now of the Holy Ghost.[7]

1 2 Cor. v. 18.
The gifts of ministry.
2 1 Cor. xii. 28
3 Eph. iv. 8–12.
4 1 Cor. xii. 4.

His language about the church.
5 1 Cor. ii. 7–9.
6 Gal. ii. 20.
7 1 Cor. vi. 19.

Passing from the ministry to the Church; it is now the church of God,[8] and now the churches of Jesus Christ;[9] and the kingdom, likewise, is now the kingdom of God,[10] and now that of Jesus Christ.[11] Did he speak of the graces of Christianity; faith is the gift of God,[12] and is the faith of Jesus Christ;[13] love is the love of God,[14] and the love of Jesus Christ;[15] peace is the peace of God,[16] and the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ;[17] joy is the joy of God,[18] is rejoicing in Jesus Christ;[19] is joy in the Holy Ghost;[20] and in one word, grace is the grace of God,[21] and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ;[22] while the summit and the crown of all grace, glory itself, is now the glory of God,[23] and now the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.[24] Does he speak of the object of faith and worship;

8 1 Cor. i. 2.
9 Rom. xvi. 16.
10 Rom. xiv. 17.
11 Col. i. 13.
The graces of Christianity.
12 Eph. ii. 8.
13 Gal. ii. 20.
14 Rom. v. 5.
15 Eph. iii. 19.
16 Phil. iv. 7.
17 Col. i. 2.
18 Rom. xv. 13.
19 Phil. iii. 3.
20 1 Thes. i. 6
21 1 Cor. iii. 10.
22 Phil. iv. 23.
23 Rom. v. 2.
24 2 Thes. ii. 14.
The object of faith and worship.

he believes in God,[1] and he believes in Jesus Christ;[2] he trusts in God,[3] and he trusts in Jesus Christ;[4] his hope is in God,[5] and Jesus Christ is his hope;[6] he prays to God,[7] and he prays to Jesus Christ;[8] he gives thanks to God,[9] and he gives thanks to Jesus Christ;[10] he invokes the peace of God,[11] and the peace of Jesus Christ;[12] he blesses in the name of God,[13] and in the name of Jesus Christ;[14] he baptizes in the name of God, and of Jesus Christ.[15] Does he look onwards to death, resurrection, judgment, eternity; if he desires to be absent from the body, it is that he may be present with the Lord;[16] if he longs to depart, it is that he may be with Christ. It is God that will raise the dead,[17] it is Christ that will raise us up;[18] it is God that will judge the world,[19] it is Christ that will judge the world.[20] The seat of final authority is called by him now the judgment-seat of God, and now the judgment-seat of Christ.[21] He declares that "every one of us shall give account of himself to God."[22]

1 Titus iii. 8.
2 Gal. ii. 16.
3 1 Tim. iv. 10.
4 Eph. i. 12.
5 Acts xxiv. 15.
6 1 Tim. i. 1.
7 Eph. i. 16, 17. [11.
8 1 Thes. iii.
9 1 Cor. i. 4.
10 1 Tim. i. 12.
11 Rom. i. 7.
12 2 Thes. i. 2.
13 1 Cor. i. 3.
14 Rom. i. 7
15 Rom. vi. 3.

His anticipations of the future.

16 2 Cor. v. 8.
17 2 Cor. iv. 14.
18 Phil. iii. 20, 21.
19 Rom. iii. 6.
20 2 Tim. iv. 1.
21 2 Cor. v. 10
22 Rom. xiv 10–12. R. V

His view of the risen Lord.

And what shall I say more? When the eye of Paul was lifted up to contemplate his Lord in the seat to which He had ascended, did it find Him as the head of the martyrs? of the apostles? of the prophets? of the angels? None of those titles could answer to the place He occupied. Even a name which should indicate the combination into one of all these dignities would not be high enough

for Him. He was "Head over all things;"[1] there being placed lower than He, not merely angel, prophet, apostle, and martyr, but worlds and systems of worlds, forces and systems of forces, organs, functions, dominions, principalities, and powers. He was "far above"[1] all these; above them, with the superiority, not merely of pre-eminence, but of command. They were put, not merely on less elevated ground, but "under His feet"[1]—language strongly expressing a subject condition. At His name were to bow and to confess, not only things in heaven and things on earth, but also things under the earth. He in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily took His own place as over all, God blessed for ever, Amen. In the language of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the various views set before us by Paul seem most naturally to express themselves: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom."[2] And again: "Let all the angels of God worship Him."

[1] Eph. i. 22.

His Headship.

All creatures subject to Him.

His throne and sceptre.

[2] Heb. i. 6-8.

Yet never did this Divine glory obscure the Cross, The Christ whom the princes of the world crucified was the Lord of glory.[3] And so was He whom the Eternal Father honoured as Lord of glory ever and always Christ crucified. He had entered into the excellent glory, not merely with the tokens of life, but also with those of death; He had not

His glory never obscures the Cross.

[3] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

entered without blood.[1] It was through His blood that were proclaimed our redemption and the forgiveness of our sins. It was around His death that centred all the reconciling forces. He was "set forth" by God, not merely as our light and helper, but was "set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by His blood."[2] A propitiation to what intent? In order to constrain a reluctant judge to love an offender? No; for the Judge it was whose love to the offender found and gave the propitiation. It was not that the Son by dying won over the Father to love a fallen world; but that the Father did so love that world that He gave His Son.[3] He was set forth as a propitiation to show the righteousness of the Judge, when, having first, as ruler, permitted transgression to arise, He then proceeded to release the transgressor from condemnation, and even to lift him up and set him upon a level with those who had never sinned—"to show His righteousness, because of the passing over of sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of His righteousness at this present season, that He might Himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus."[4] Here we have the propitiation of Christ held up as being, firstly, the means by which God can, without doing injustice, freely pardon an offender whom He has permitted to transgress; and, secondly, as being

[1] Heb. x. 20.

His death propitiatory.

[2] Rom. iii. 25.

The purpose of His propitiation.

[3] John iii. 16

[4] Rom. iii. 25, 26.

The means of just pardon.

The evidence of His righteousness.

the evidence by which He can "show" to the conscience of all accountable creatures, fallen or unfallen, that in so pardoning He is not unrighteous. Here we find the two principles exhibited face to face, that whereas, on the one hand, the offending creature cannot be cleared in any wise that shall enfeeble law or obscure it, but only in such wise as shall magnify it and make it honourable; so, on the other hand, must the pardoning act of the Creator be justified in the view of universal conscience; else law itself would fail for want of a foundation in conscience, were it once possible to believe that wrong was as safe as right, and offending as certain of ultimate acceptance as humble obedience. The Judge of the whole earth will constrain all to say that He does right; that, while in punishing, His goodness never is absent from His justice, so also in forgiving, His justice is never absent from His goodness. He will be justified when He speaks, He will be clear when He is judged; so justified, so cleared, that when the creatures in their turn are judged of Him, they shall feel that they stand before the Holy and the True, all whose judgments are right.

Sin and its punishment.

In modern times certain theologians make the great mystery of God's dealings in respect of sin to consist in its punishment. That is not where the Bible ever places the mystery. It is not where nature ever takes note of a mystery. In

nature, two things are so familiar that the human mind always takes them for granted. Those two things are the protection of innocence and the punishment of guilt. In neither of these is there any mystery; and recent attempts to found mysteries upon punishment will have, in the long run, the same fate as similar attempts in past ages. In nature, the true mystery recognized by universal consciousness — the true mystery emphasized by the Bible, consists—first, in the permission of wrong-doing—the permission not merely of one original act of offence, but the forbearance which permits wrong after wrong in a series long repeated; and, secondly, in the entire remission to the offender of the punishment due to his wrong done, so that he may be raised up to the favour and happiness of the innocent.

No mystery in the protection of innocence and punishment of guilt.

The mystery in the permission of wrong and in the forbearance of God.

The forbearance which permits of repeated offending is very mysterious; involving, among other perplexities, a limitation of the protection given to innocence. This limitation is its inevitable concomitant; for whenever the wrong-doer is permitted to carry out his purpose, there must be a sufferer who has not merited that suffering. We cannot permit one boy in a playground to throw stones without so far ceasing to protect the persons of his comrades. The sonorous question of how wrong, violence, ruining of others, can be permitted —of how long it is to be permitted? is one that

Protection to innocence limited thereby

heaves and moans everywhere in the universal conscience—heaves and moans all through the Bible, like a ground swell troubling a great sea. The only answer of the Bible, and the only answer in the facts of nature is, that though judgment against an evil worker is delayed, that judgment is sure, and slumbereth not.

The certainty of ultimate judgment.

The question of how the guilty can be raised to the place and heritage of the innocent without undoing the foundations of all order and hope, could never be answered without an atonement. God sets forth Christ crucified, to show that even in this also He is just; and among notable facts which stand clearly graven on the tablets of human life, none is clearer than this—that of the events which have served to impress the minds of men with the heinousness of sin, none has ever made that impression so deeply as the death of the Lord Jesus Christ. Those who believe in Him as dying, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, view sin as abhorrent to a degree beyond what others ever do.

The question of the restoration of the guilty insoluble without atonement.

As a matter of mental and moral history it is not to be gainsaid that notwithstanding all the means ever taken to set up in men a keen sense of the evil of sin, notwithstanding the testimony to its heinousness borne before the eyes of all in the sufferings engendered by it; notwithstanding the enhancement of its heinousness, brought home to Jews and Mohammedans, as well as Christians, by

Nothing impresses the soul with the sense of sin like the death of Christ.

their belief in the punishment of the fallen angels, the impression of its hatefulness made upon the conscience by these means is faint compared with that wrought into a soul by the humiliation and sufferings of our blessed Lord, when to the faith of that soul every pain He bore addresses a charge of guilt coupled with an appeal of love. Guilt and love, every attempt to measure which fails, like a finite line laid upon an infinite one. When His "for you,"[1] uttered as He broke the bread, His "for you," repeated as He poured out the wine,[2]— foreshowing in the act His death,—is responded to by our "for me,"[3] as it was by Paul's "for me," when we, in our turn, breaking the bread and pouring out the wine, show again the laying down to death of His body and the shedding forth of His blood, for our sins, and not for our sins only, but also for the sins of the whole world, then verily does sin put on an exceeding sinfulness, as an offence against the nature, dominion, and command of our Father in heaven, our eternal King.

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 24

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 25

In commemorating His death sin appears exceedingly sinful.

In the writings of St. Paul do we trace a mode of representing sin as if it was the case of a solitary offending creature in presence of His Creator alone, a mode habitual with those who imagine that moral government might proceed upon one of two principles, either on the principle of always pardoning upon repentance without any

Mode of representing sin.

atonement, or on that of always granting oblivion of offences without even the formality of a pardon.

To look upon either of these plans as feasible seems to presuppose a conception never formulated, but one which none the less rules the thoughts of those capable of seriously suggesting such expedients. To formulate that conception is to dissipate it. It is the conception of the Creator, and a sinning creature as standing alone, so that what may pass between them is a matter personal to themselves two, and not one bearing upon the characters and interests of third parties, or on the moral government of a community. It is only under cover of a conception like this that such questions can spring up as: Could not God forgive sinners on repentance without atonement? Could He not forgive without any conditions whatever?

The Creator and the sinner never stand alone.

What He could do, what He would do, did He with a single intelligent responsible creature dwell alone in an unpeopled universe, I do not know. But Paul never conceives of the great Ruler as so placed, or of Christ as intervening in a case of that character. He conceives of the person and work of Christ as "seen of angels," quite as much as he conceives of them as "preached unto the Gentiles," or as "believed on in the world."[1] He conceives of witnesses uncounted, witnesses visible and invisible to every moral deed done in the government of God. A lone ruler with a lone subject

St. Paul conceives the person and work of Christ, as seen of angels, etc.

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 16.

was a conception he never presented to us; and it is a conception so far removed from all reality that whatever shades of thought are tinged by it must be illusory. Even the conception of God as a ruler of only a single family of moral agents, a family whose history and interests were bounded by the walls of their own dwelling, never presents itself. On the contrary, the family of man is always regarded as a younger race, distinct from older races of immortals, known, however, to them, under their observation in the various windings of its course, ministered to by the good among them, tempted by the fallen among them. In the view of Paul this race needed and found a second Father, an Adam to repair, as the first had been one to undo. Of this second Father, mark it well, Paul does not say, He "was flesh," but "He was manifested in the flesh,"[1] manifested as the Son of God "made" in the likeness, "sent" into the likeness of sinful flesh.[2] Though in the flesh, He was in spirit and action totally separate from sinners, literally "knew no sin."[3] By this sinlessness of spirit was He manifested to be the Son of God, fully justified in the claim to be One "conceived of the Holy Ghost." Not only in life, but in death also was He manifested, being declared by resurrection from the dead to be the Son of God.[4] The manifestation by holiness in life, the manifestation by power in death, were neither of

God is conceived of as ruler of more families of moral agents than one.

A second Adam needed by the human race.

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[2] Rom. viii. 3.

[3] 2 Cor. v. 21.

[4] Rom. i. 4.

them for the eye of man only, but as we have already noted, were "seen of angels." The case then of human disobedience against our Creator is not a mere personal offence of a solitary inferior to his superior. It is a social offence, it is a public offence, it is violation of law in a great complex community. Certainly it has in it the elements of personal injustice in immeasurable degrees. It is a denial of the plainest and the strongest rights: a denial of gratitude to bounty without limit, a denial of reverence to worth infinitely venerable, a denial of love and love's return to goodness unspeakable, a denial of deference to wisdom that erreth not, a denial of confidence to truth that cannot lie. It is a direct offence offered to a Benefactor, Father, and King in the presence of multitudes who are dependent upon Him, multitudes whose character and happiness are bound up with their conformity to His will. In addition, however, to this its personal aspect, disobedience against God has its public aspect. It is defiance to a Sovereignty whose rights collect together into one all conceivable rights; whose rights violated, no other rights have basis or defence. It is violation of a law which is holy and just and good. It is contempt of an authority on the maintenance of which all order and peace, all justice and bliss depend. It is the undertaking of a struggle with Almighty power.

Human disobedience a social offence.

It has also a public aspect.

It is an example set to all, tempting them in like manner to resist the eternal King, an example which if generally followed would render impossible any reign of righteousness, any kingdom of God. Very far removed, therefore, is the case of man rebelling against God from a private action passing between two persons on whose mutual relations depends nothing but their concord or discomfort as between themselves.

It is a source of temptation to others

Still, it is easy to conceive a point in the history of creation, when as yet only one responsible, immortal creature had been called into existence. At that point (had it ever existed) no problems would arise but as between a lone ruler and a lone subject. Yet even for that solitary finite immortal, dwelling without a fellow under the eye of the Infinite and Eternal, law there must be, and duty too. The character of that lone subject could not be to his Ruler a matter of indifference: for his Ruler was his Maker. Now, the will that willed him to be, must surely also have willed him to be of some kind,—good or bad, wise or foolish, happy or miserable. That creature lifting up alone his eye to the Author of his life, the Giver of his powers, could not be without His law. His law would necessarily be, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God."[1] This first of all the commandments stands first by eternal necessities—necessities of the divine nature, for God is love, necessities of justice as

If only one responsible immortal creature existed there would be law for him.

[1] Deut. vi. 5.

between giver and recipient, as between support and dependent, as between glorious and capacity of esteeming glory, as between wisdom infinite and wisdom limited, as between power unbounded and powers which at every moment touch their limits on all sides. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," becomes, therefore, by necessity the law of one intelligent being alone, as well as of one placed in a community—the law of an angel, just as much as of a man.

Love to God by necessity the law of one intelligent being alone, as well as of one in a community.

But so long as no more than one finite spirit, capable of knowing the Almighty Ruler, and of obeying or disobeying Him, lived and moved in His sight, it is manifest that this first commandment could not draw after it a second like unto it. It was not possible to give the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour,"[1] until a neighbour was in existence. Until then, it were impossible for any problems more complex to arise than as between a Ruler and one solitary subject, as between a single parent and a lonely child. In such a case no offence could arise but a personal one; for an offence social, or offence public, would be impossible. Only two beings existing, no justice would have to be upheld but as between those two; no good relations would have to be maintained, but as between those two; no example to fellow-creature for good or evil could be set; no service or disservice to fellow-creature could be done.

[1] Lev. xix. 18.

The second command, love to our neighbour, requires the existence of a neighbour.

Above all, no precedent in administration could be created, which would become a general temptation to break law, a temptation in the dreadful form of one emanating from the seat of authority.

The Ruler's action on the supposition of the existence of only two beings.

In such a simple condition of moral relations, I should not undertake to say to what extent might be carried the method of pardon upon mere repentance, or that of oblivion without any condition, nor to say at what point that procedure would become unjust and cruel. The Ruler could not, in the case supposed, give up any rights but His own, or lay open to temptation or ruin any but the doer of the wrong action. Nevertheless, even then it does seem as if a rule under which, in every possible case, there was an assured freedom from punishment would be practically a rule of indifference to the character of the subject and his actions, would, in fact, amount to a breaking off of moral relations. When the creature disobeyed, if any difference was made in his treatment, that would be in the nature of punishment; and if no difference was made, it would amount to saying, Thy love and thy disregard, thy obedience and thy disobedience, are all as one to me. Now, that is a state of relations with which only the most superficial thinking could associate the name of either kingship or fatherhood. Under either of these terms is included the idea of a defined will as to the character and actions of the subject or the

Alternative suppositions.

child. Consequently there is also included the idea of approval or disapproval when the character conforms to or deviates from that will,—approval and disapproval manifested in some way.

The whole problem changed by the co-existence of two fellow-creatures.

The whole problem, however, changes from the moment when we conceive of two fellow-creatures co-existing, and of the King or Father as ruling over both. Now He has to maintain relations not only between Himself and one, but between Himself and two, each with a will and interests of his own. Further, He has to maintain relations as between those two, one with the other. Any act of obedience or disobedience now done ceases to be merely personal, and becomes social; public it cannot be as yet,—there is, according to our supposition, no public in existence.

The relations of one subject and one ruler affected by actions.

If only one subject existed, even then no action could be done without producing its effects. An action must affect the character of the agent himself, as either fulfilling or violating the law of his duty. It must likewise affect the sovereignty of the Ruler, as either accomplishing His will or crossing it. It must, therefore, affect relations between the Ruler and the subject. But so soon as to King is added neighbour, so soon as to Father is added brother, then does every action, while retaining this property of affecting relations between Ruler and subject, acquire the additional property of affecting relations between fellow and fellow.

Additional property acquired by actions when there are two or more subjects.

Each action must affect the neighbour, be it directly by injuring or benefiting him; be it indirectly by setting him an example for good or evil, or at least by reacting on the character of his fellow, and so offering to him an associate increasingly valuable, if the action has confirmed habits of doing right, or of deteriorated worth if it has impaired them.

The relations of the Creator to one or more creatures.

If only one creature existed the Creator would not have any rights but His own to guard. But it is obvious that no sooner do two creatures exist, than He has to guard the rights of both, each against the other. If three exist, He has to guard the rights of all three; if a multitude, He has to guard those of each member of the multitude as against any and every other. Hence, if we supposed it possible to offend against God, without in the same act offending against our fellow-creatures—which I am far from saying—still it would remain impossible to offend against a fellow-creature without in the same act offending against God. He is the Guardian, as He is the Giver, of all personal and private rights, as well as of public order. Therefore to do an injury to our fellow-creature, without at the same time offering an offence to God, is an impossibility. Every injury done to a fellow-creature must bear the twofold character of a breach of both the first and second of the great commandments. Ill to your fellow-creature you cannot do without in that very act doing a wrong

God the Guardian and Giver of all rights and of public order.

Every injury to a fellow-creature a breach both of the first and second commandments.

against your Maker. In doing ill to His creature you refuse to Him the obedience that is righteously due. You violate the protection He has extended over His offspring. You affront the Authority by which He guards all the happiness He ever gave. The poorest, the weakest, the most unworthy is not left unguarded to your caprice. "He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth HIS MAKER."[1] "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind, but shalt fear THY GOD: I AM THE LORD."[2] "Let no man transgress, and wrong his brother in the matter: because THE LORD IS AN AVENGER in all these things."[3] Here we have protection to three classes of human interests,—to property, to the person, and to conjugal rights, and in each of these is the great King and Father revealed as making the cause of the aggrieved His own cause. But He cannot make common cause with the aggrieved without setting Himself against the aggressor. In every community the first office of beneficence in the head of it is this making common cause between private rights and public power, this notifying that every transgressor against the weak will have to feel the arm of the strong, that every secret defrauder will have to face a flame-eyed judge.

[1] Prov. xiv. 31.

[2] Lev. xix. 14.

[3] 1 Thes. iv. 6. R.V.

Protection provided for three classes of interests.

The protection of the aggrieved implies the judgment of the aggressor.

This is the work of love and justice. To set up in a community as a principle of government that all should be certified that whatever rights they

might violate, whatever wrongs they might inflict, the public authority would grant them a uniform oblivion, would be the work of malice and injustice, —the work of a ruler who either hated his subjects, or was incapable of discerning between what would conserve happiness, and what would bring on universal broil and wrong. Again, to set up as a principle of government that all should be notified that after any crime whatever, they would certainly be pardoned on repentance, would be in effect just like the other method. It would lay open the way, after some brief postponement, to perpetually renewed offences, to the normal reign of violence. "I shall be pardoned without punishment, and without atonement," would be the strongest form of temptation. A certitude that no matter how many may fall ruined by my strength, I shall never fall into the hands of one able to ruin me, a certitude of uniform pardon on repentance would amount, in effect, to an abolition of penalty, and that in its turn would amount to the legalising of all manner of violence, as in barbarous wars any injustice to an enemy is allowed.

The certainty of pardon and impunity for wrong-doing, with or without repentance, would legalise all manner of violence.

However veiled over by show of gentleness, simple oblivion of offences would be the most pestiferous form of cruelty. Let us suppose that at the head of ten separate nations were placed ten monsters, each instinct with ill will to men, with a malign delight in seeing woe upon land and

Simple oblivion of offences the most pestiferous form of cruelty.

Illustrations of the truth.

sea; in seeing all tempting and all tempted, all committing wrong and all avenging, all inflicting suffering and all enduring it. Let us suppose that, to give effect to these cruel desires, one of the ten adopts a system of spies and false accusations, a second one of wars, a third one of burdens on labour, food and trade, a fourth one of hired desperadoes and assassinations, a fifth one of legal tortures and murders, and so on. Let each of these ply his system with energy. Then let the tenth adopt the simple expedient of granting oblivion of all offences. He need not make exertions. He has only to proclaim at every street-corner of his dominions, *Punishment is abolished!* Men will soon explain to themselves and to one another what that means: no deed done shall have a public avenger. The government will treat every action as something that could not be helped. This tenth monster may smile at the other nine; for in comparison their cruelties will make havoc slowly. In his territories the course will be clear for the red horse of strife, the black horse of hunger, and the pale horse of death. Wrong will engender wrong, and woe give birth to woe, till the land without justice shall become the model for all who desire to overturn foundations, to destroy safeguards, to hush the voices of every joy, to raise up the loudest clang of dissonant rage with weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

Effects of the total abolition of punishment.

The views of the criminal and the guardian of justice respectively.

This is the view of justice which pervades the Old Testament and the New. We, looking from the lawbreaker's point of view, see, too generally, the aspect of divine justice and judgment natural to him and proper to him only,—that of a personal enemy and danger. But in human justice the view of the guardian of justice, as also that of the ward of justice, is very different from that of the criminal. To the judge, punishing the guilty is an integral part of the beneficent action which protects the innocent; and the pain inflicted in punishment is chargeable, not to the justice which arrests wrong, but to the injustice which began it, and would, if unchecked, multiply sufferings manifold. To the ward of justice again, no cruelty is greater than a denial of justice; it is the denial of defence, of safety, of a foundation on which to ground hopes. Were we not breakers of law, conscious that, to us, sheer justice involves punishment, we should look on the abrogation of justice as the most direful of cruelties. Now, a system of uniform oblivion for offences is a system of abrogation of justice, and a system of uniform pardon merely on repentance is virtually tantamount to oblivion of offences.

Uniform oblivion of offences would be the abrogation of justice.

The assumption underlying popular objections to the atonement.

Under popular objections to the atonement lies an assumption never formulated, but real and operative, that punishment is cruelty. Unjust or excessive punishment is so. But we have

shown that the greatest of all cruelties would be the abolition of punishment. A second assumption sustains the first, namely, that private revenge and public retribution are to be judged by the same standard. But Paul's sufficient reason against private revenge was the complete certainty of public retribution and its awful sacredness. "Avenge not yourselves,"—why? because wrong ought not to be avenged? by no means; but because only One Judge is able to render unto man truly and equally, each according to his works, and that He will not fail in the appointed time to do it, for "Vengeance is Mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."[1]

Private revenge and public retribution not to be judged by the same standard.

[1] Rom. xii. 19.

Here, then, was, in the view of Paul, the great and portentous problem of justice and mercy. In justice the Lord was ever to appear as the Avenger of all wrong done. Omission of justice would have practically involved cessation of love, permission of the universal prevalence of ill will. Yet justice did not extinguish love to the offender any more than a good father, knowing that his son was committing forgeries, would cease to love the wretched lad he heart and soul condemned. God's love was love to us "while we were yet sinners."[2] Yet love to a culprit does not mean being reconciled to him. The father who knew that his son was acting the forger could not be reconciled to him, could not treat him with favour without

The problem of justice and mercy.

[2] Rom. v. 8.

Love and reconciliation not identical.

being a criminal. So to Paul, we, in our state of sin, were enemies to God, enemies needing to be reconciled, enemies in mind by alienation and opposition of spirit, enemies in action by "wicked works," [1] works against which His holy judgments were most justly due. The enmity, however, was all on our side. On His it was not enmity, but just disapprobation and just displeasure. So, in order that He might be reconciled to vile offenders, "while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." He was not an innocent creature taking the place of an offending one; He, on the contrary, was Himself One with the Father, and yet redeemed us from the curse of the law, "being made a curse for us." [1] So was the Lord able to dispense to us a forgiveness that was far from an oblivion of offences, a laxity of law, a remissness of administration, a miscarriage of justice, or yet a mere arbitrary caprice of partial favour,—a forgiveness that, while to us pardon full and free, was also a justification, seeing that God had provided for us a plea acceptable in law, a plea which sets us right with justice. So, therefore, "being now justified by His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him:" [2] for, "when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son." Yea, and this forgiveness rose even beyond the idea of a justification, up into that of an adoption; for if Christ was for us made under

Paul's view of our state.

[1] Gal. iii. 13

God's disposition towards us.

What Christ was and did.

Forgiveness and justification.

[2] Rom. v. 9 10.

Adoption.

the law, it was that we might receive, not merely the place of pardoned servants, but "the adoption of sons," of sons in the full sense of title to more than support, more than communion, of title also to inheritance: "if a son, then an heir of God through Christ;" [1] yea, so high is this heirship lifted up that the heir, through Christ, is to be "a joint heir with Christ." [2] Because He, the Son of God, was "made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law," not merely to avert from them destruction, but to give them again their forfeited sonship; "that they might receive the adoption of sons." Because of this, their recovered sonship will ever stand on its new footing,—not as a natural birthright, not as a continuance by remissness of privilege to the unworthy, not as an abrogation of law, but as an adoption, all of the Father's grace, yet so wrought out by the divine Son that He bringing to share His own glory only those of whose flesh, and shame, and curse, He had made Himself partaker, brought them in a manner and after a propitiation which did not sully the sanctity of law or lower the awfulness of penalty, but made each one of those to whom "He gave power to become the sons of God," [3] an everlasting witness of His having made a satisfaction for sin by their testimony, we are "justified by His blood; we shall be saved from wrath through Him." [4]

Heirship.

[1] Gal. iv. 7.

[2] Rom. viii. 17.

The ground of our adoption.

[3] John i. 12.

[4] Rom. v. 9.

III.

I now turn to the Apostle John, to know whether he did or did not teach upon our two points even the same things as his brethren Peter and Paul. John's teaching.

Thou, O John, wert beloved above others. Thou wert the one who, earliest in life, learnedst to love that visage; the one who last survived through years of old age to bear testimony after thy fellows had concluded theirs. Thou, too, wert the only one of the twelve who stood near the tree to behold death seal his victory, to hear dying words from the victim. So, again, thou wert he to whom the ascended Lord did most signally manifest Himself. Say then, say, was the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world verily the true God and eternal life; or, was He only a creature? Was He the Author of salvation, or was He only an angel sent forth to minister to them that shall be heirs of salvation? Viewed as the Lamb, was He to thee simply an emblem of innocence, or was He our passover sacrificed for us? Was He or was He not, the Lamb by whose precious blood we are redeemed?

John tells us in what form the Lord showed Himself amid the golden candlesticks—glorious, kingly, mighty. So overwhelming was His majesty, that the disciple who had once leaned upon His Christ among the golden candlesticks.

breast now falls at His feet as dead. How, then, does He raise him up? By saying as Peter to Cornelius, "I, myself, also am a man?" by saying as the angel to this same John, "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets . . . worship God?"[1] Nay, not with any such caution against worshipping the creature did the effulgent Christ meet the prostrate John. "Fear not," just as the JEHOVAH of old spake to father Abraham; "fear not, I am the first and the last: I am He that liveth."[2] So far, all befits the glory in which He now is shining; but the next word seems alien to that glory—"and was dead!" Thou wast dead! The Alpha and the Omega dead! The first and the last, dead! He that liveth, dead! Yea, "I was dead;" not, however, "I am dead." "I *was* dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of death and of Hades." Here the suffering of death is placed in immediate connexion with triumph over death, and what is far more, in connexion with His dominion over death itself, and over the dead. Paul's words—"He died, and rose, and revived, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living"[3]—might have been caught as an echo from this vision. All-comprehending existence is here coupled with a season of dying and of death; all excelling glory is coupled with abasement, even to the gibbet and the grave; all-

[1] Rev. xix. 10.

[2] Rev. i. 17.

Suffering of death and triumph over it.

[3] Rom. xiv. 9.

commanding dominion with obedience to death, even the death of the cross. The crown of all is life, life in Himself, life for His members, life to which the grave and Hades are powers, only as is the lock a power to the hand that holds the key.

Title assumed by our Lord.

Now, it is to be noted that in this passage our Lord takes to Himself the title of "The First and the Last, and the Living One," whereas only a moment before occur the words, "I am the Alpha and Omega, . . which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."[1] That in the case last quoted the titles Alpha and Omega apply directly to the Lord God cannot be disputed, as does also the description, "which is, and which was, and which is to come." Then arises the question, whether substantially the same titles when employed a moment afterwards are or are not applied to Another. Does "Alpha and Omega" mean the Almighty, while "First and Last" means Another? Does "which is, and which was, and which is to come," mean the ever-living God, and does the "Living One," used as if an echo, mean Another? These titles are employed in juxtaposition in a manner calculated to intimate identity of person: obviously they are not so kept asunder as to honour the constant usage of Holy Scripture in holding every creature widely apart from the Creator.

[1] Rev. i. 8.

Applied to the same person as the Alpha and Omega

Is any care to maintain a severance observable in the next vision, in which John beholds the person of our Lord? Now, the vision is no longer outside the veil, where stand the candlesticks. Into the holiest, into heaven itself has a door been opened. Just as the manifestation of the person of our Lord among the candlesticks was preceded by the solemn announcement of the Alpha and Omega, the Lord God, the Almighty, so is the second manifestation of that person as surmounting the mercy-seat preceded by a display of the ineffable Majesty. "There was a throne set in heaven, and One sat on the throne."[1] So glorious is He that sits, so exalted His throne, that even they who attend on it are themselves throned, and crowned with crowns of gold. Four and twenty elders thus glorified, are before the throne; and four living beings full of eyes are on the steps of it round about. The throne itself is as if it lived. Out of it are proceeding lightnings, voices, thunders. Before it are lamps burning. We are told that the flame thus streaming forth from it, shooting far away into distance, is the Spirit of God on His mission to earth. Now, in what relation do the glorious creatures mentioned stand to the throne and to Him who sits thereon? Is it the throne of God and the golden Elders? or of God and the four living beings? Nay, nay; elders from off their thrones fall down and cast

The vision inside the holiest.

[1] Rev. iv. 2.

The glory of Him that sits upon the throne.

their crowns at His feet. The four cry, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty." Both, lowly and in awe, worship as their Creator, Him who sitteth on high, Him who boweth to none, who cannot look up to a higher.

The homage paid by the elders.

Only after this introductory vision do we for the first time hear the name of "the Lamb." Yet immediately before His appearance is He announced to us, strange to say, under a very different name: "the Lion of the tribe of Judah."[1] As Lamb means spotless victim, so does Lion of Judah mean royal victor. In Him whom we are about to behold are these two apparently contrasting characters united for evermore. Now does John behold central to all Angels, central to the Elders, central to the Four, in the midst of the throne, on the right hand of the Majesty on high, standing, standing with seven horns, sign of matchless and triumphant might, "a Lamb as though it had been slain."[2] Slain! there, at the summit of Heavenly Majesty, One who had been slain! Yea, verily, once again does the testimony "I was dead," proceed from the First and the Last, from the Living One. Yet though He had been dead, the evidences of His conquest and life-giving power are not exhausted. As the lamps seen before the throne, while as yet His person had not come into view, the High Priest, being not at once discerned for the Shekinah and the incense,—as

The Lion of the tribe of Judah and the Lamb.

[1] Rev. v. 5.

The place where John beheld the Lamb.

[2] Rev. v. 6 R.V.

those lamps were the Spirit of God sent forth into all the earth, so now has the Lamb seven eyes, whose forth-shooting flame is the Spirit of God on mission to all nations, to every creature.[1] It is this mission of the Spirit forth from and through the person of the exalted Redeemer, that lights all the candlesticks in the court outside of the veil, that gives their illumination to the stars which there twinkle with wavering light. Thus stands the Lamb on the throne; not waiting to receive, but bestowing, sending forth from it an ever-abounding supply of life and grace. Is this the manner in which to mark out for Him a place, with bounds set round about it, fencing it off from the Height of the Supreme Presence, such a place as is jealously kept for creatures the most exalted? And if the place announces identity with God, how speak the respective postures of the most favoured creatures and the Lamb? they, the crowned Elders, they, the Four full of eyes, "fell down before the Lamb,"[2] worshipping Him with an express commemoration of His dying as a ransom: "Thou didst purchase unto God with Thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation."[3]

[1] Rev. v. 6.

The mission of the Spirit by the Lamb.

Identity of the Lamb with God announced by the place and circumstances.

[2] Rev. v. 8.

[3] Rev. v. 9. R.V.

Thus to the Lamb is assigned the sovereign place, first, by position, and next, by the attitude of attendants; but whether is this sustained or invalidated by their words? Before the Lamb

The sovereign place assigned to the Lamb.

appears on the throne, when only One sits there hidden with excess of light, the Elders and the Four cry, "Worthy art Thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honour and the power; for Thou didst create all things, and because of Thy will they were, and were created."[1] So soon as the Lamb appears, how is His presence recognized? "Worthy" was the word of the thrones and dominions to the Creator. "Worthy" is the word with which they greet the Lamb. The Elders and the Four offer one first adoration; then are they surrounded by myriads of angels re-echoing "Worthy." The Creator had been adored as worthy to receive "the glory and the honour and the power." What is the Lamb proclaimed by all immortals as worthy to receive? —"The power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honour, and glory, and blessing."[2] So that while all the three dignities ascribed to the Creator are repeated in the dignities of the Lamb, there is added to them others lofty and significant. As the inner groups of the Four and the Elders had been joined by the outer myriads of angels, so is this multitude again swelled by the accession of "every created thing which is in the heaven and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea."[3] Now does the whole creation capable of speech, take up the common terms of praise, and ascribe them in one acclaim, "Unto Him that

[1] Rev. iv. 11. R.V.

The same praise, power, and dignities ascribed to the Lamb as to the Creator.

[2] Rev. v. 12.

[3] Rev. v. 13. R.V.

The whole creation praises God and the Lamb.

sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb."[1] To this act of "association," which Jews reject and Mohammedans curse, the Four say "Amen," while the Elders fall down and worship.

[1] Rev. v. 13.

Everything is said and done to present Christ as the Son glorified by the Father.

So far, then, from this vision of the supreme glory preserving as between God and the Lamb that distinction between Creator and creature so manifest in the vision of Isaiah in the temple,[2] everything that action can do, everything that the description of action in words can do, is done to present to us the Lamb that had been slain as not a creature, but as *the* Son glorified by the Father with "that glory which He had with Him before the world was;"[3] "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."[4]

[2] Isa. vi. 2, 3.

[3] John xvii. 5.

[4] Rev. xiii. 8.

Christ's attitude among this rapturous adoration.

And His own attitude amid all this swelling upwards of rapturous adoration! does it express the culminating point of a creature's reward, or the calm coming into His own right and place of the King of Glory? Does He do fealty for any royal grant? Does He confess sovereign grace more than recompensing faithful discharge of bounden duty? Does He bow when all bow? No, from the height of all majesty, He looks down upon thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, upon prostrate myriads of radiant sons of God, —like the sun looking down on his own beams. Of all forms in heaven or in earth, only that which once bowed down in death boweth not

now in presence of Him who liveth for ever and ever.

In this first vision of the Lamb, then, John has set before his eye for our learning all that in vision can be displayed to teach the Oneness with the Father of the Lord who bought us. Throughout succeeding visions, similar action is repeated; and is described in every possible turn of language, in terms many of which are strange, such as no one could employ by accident, such as no one would employ by choice, except when he had to convey meanings at first sight irreconcilable.

The Oneness of the Lord who bought us with the Father set forth in all the visions.

When, at the opening of the sixth seal, terror seizes upon men, kings, princes, generals, the rich, the strong hasten to seek cover, crying to the rocks and mountains to fall upon and hide them from "the face of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb;"[1] these two names are followed up, as is the wont of the Apocalypse, with expressions which flow on as if but one person had been mentioned: "for the great day of *His* wrath is come," not of *their* wrath.

The sixth seal.

[1] Rev. vi. 16.

Again, when the host of the sealed from out of all tribes and tongues of man cry, "Salvation to our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb,"[2] then do the angels round about fall down before the throne, echoing the worship of the human song, though not its word "salvation;" acclaiming

The praises of the host of the sealed.

[2] Rev. vii 10.

"to our God" the same dignities which we have already seen them acclaiming to the Lamb. Though an angel was careful to warn John to worship only God, these show no consciousness that the palm-bearers from earth, the white of whose robes was no native purity, were now bringing into heaven the worship of God and of another. Nay, it is from the lips of an angel that proceed the words accounting for the presence in eternal light of those who once were sunk in sin and woe, showing that they are beatified not by the angel title of a robe of innocence never soiled, but on other grounds, because they had washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, therefore shall they hunger no more, thirst no more; because, adds the angel, "the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them."[1] Language this, as I have said, which no man could use by accident, which none would use by intention, unless when he had to convey a startling meaning. "The Lamb shall *feed* them;" that is, shall "shepherd" them.[2] The Lamb become shepherd! the old strophe, "the Lord is my shepherd," turned into the Lamb is my shepherd! But this is not all. The Lamb is —where? A lamb in the fold, a lamb in the pasture, a lamb by the river, a lamb among wolves, a lamb on the altar, a lamb at the paschal feast, are

The angel's account of the palm-bearers from earth.

The relation of the Lamb to them.

[1] Rev. vii. 17.

[2] The Revised Version reads: "shall be their shepherd."

ideas with which nature and Scripture have made us familiar. But a lamb in a throne! in the midst of a throne! so established in it that it is freely called "the throne of God and of the Lamb!"[1] That is language full of meaning, of meaning which soars up above any words, like flame and incense rising over a censer.

The Lamb in the midst of the throne.

[1] Rev. xxii. 3.

When the casting down of the Accuser is recorded, the words are: "They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb."[2] When the hundred and forty-four thousand stand on Sion with the Lamb, harping with their harps, they bear upon their foreheads written, "His name and the name of His Father,"[3] they "were purchased from among men, the first-fruits unto God and unto the Lamb."[4]

The Accuser's overthrow.

[2] Rev. xii. 11.

The Lamb's name on the foreheads of the 144,000.

[3] Rev. xiv. 1. R.V.

[4] Rev. xiv. 4.

It is striking that what is described as the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, is one in which the only name mentioned is that of "the Lord God, the Almighty, the King of the Ages."[5] When, in alliance with the Beast, ten kings wage war with the Lamb, the reason given why He overcomes them is: "for He is the Lord of lords, and King of kings."[6] This describing of a lamb as a king paramount is another case of language which no one could use by accident, or without special design would use intentionally.

The song of Moses and of the Lamb.

[5] Rev. xv. 3.

Why the Lamb overcomes the ten kings.

[6] Rev. xvii 14.

When in vision the city rises into view, the city

The name borne by the holy city.

where they who sin not dwell, the city "so holy and clean," of pure beauty, of unclouding light, of never-silent song, it bears the name borne on the foreheads of the redeemed, it is the Lamb's wife. On its gem foundations the names graven are those of the Apostles of the Lamb. Into it enter only they whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life. The wherefore of the fact that in vain we look for a temple there is this, that "the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple thereof."[1] Here we have one covert formed by both,—a complete identification. God and the Lamb are the deadly storm of the wicked, and also are they the temple of the just! The reason why no sun, no moon illuminates the city is because "the glory of God did lighten it, and the lamp thereof is the Lamb."[2] Here with complete identification we have a significant note of distinction. The light is "the glory of the Lord," the lamp is the Lamb,—His person being the medium, the visible frame through which streams forth the light. The word Lamb always carries a reference to the human body and sacrificial death of our blessed Lord. That body in the midst of the throne is the lamp which sheds light on all problems as to how there can with justice be seen shining in like honour and glory robes once defiled and robes never stained. Is it because the throne is a fountain of equal honours to good and bad, to just and unjust?

Why it has no temple.

[1] Rev. xxi. 22.

Why it has no sun.

[2] Rev. xxi. 23. R.V.

The reference of the word "Lamb."

Every eye that looks up to it must read there an eternally living record, which leaves no darkness of any such question. To Him do all say, Worthy to redeem, and therefore to men redeemed will they freely say, Worthily redeemed.[1]

The Spirit of God in several visions.

When first the throne with the rainbow canopy opened upon the gaze of John, out of it was proceeding the Spirit of God, emblemed by fire and voice. When first the Lamb rose upon his view, forth from His person was proceeding the Spirit of God, emblemed by the flame of His seven eyes. When in the final vision the throne of God and the Lamb rears itself up over the streets of gold, over the jasper walls, over the myriads of ever-rejoicing children of light, there is proceeding out of it the Spirit of God, under the other ordinary emblem—"a pure river of water of life." The throne of God and of the Lamb is the throne of grace, the fountain-head of gifts for the church, of graces for the soul, of life for all that need. Out of it proceeds the Lord and Giver of life, the Light of life, the River of life. The Hindus speak of the Milky Way as being the celestial head-waters of the Ganges, and the Ganges as being the terres-

The throne of God and of the Lamb the fountain-head of gifts and graces.

[1] The difference between the words "light" and "lamp" is seen in our Lord's testimony to Himself, and to the Baptist: "I am the *light* of the world," *φῶς*; but John was not that "light," he was (John v. 35): "a burning and shining lamp," *λύχνος*: a lamp giving its own quota of "light," in which light for a season they were willing to rejoice.

The Spirit of life in the Better Land and on earth.

trial extension of the Milky Way. In very truth the Spirit of life, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, spreads immortal life all through the breadth of the Better Land, and then brings down to our desert fields all the life we know Into the region where first runs that stream. death cometh never. In it shall be "no more" curse, albeit there dwell "nations" of saved men, who once were under the curse of the law. But now no more curse shall ever reach them. Why? Because "the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it,"[1] and because "His servants"—mark! not *their* servants, but "His," He meaning God and the Lamb, "His servants shall serve Him," rebellion having ceased.

[1] Rev. xxii. 3.

The vision of the rider on the white horse.

There is a vision in which comes forth One upon a white horse, having on His head many crowns, with the well-known eyes of flame, and bearing the names of Faithful and True, and the Word of God.[2] He gives judgment, and makes war; and after Him follow the armies of heaven on white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. He, too, is clothed, having over His vesture written yet another name, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS. And that vesture on which stands this supreme name, is it not also of linen, white and clean? Ah! it is a vesture dipped in blood!

[2] Rev. xix. 11.

The name on the vesture dipped in blood.

And when sounds the final word, "I come

quickly!"[1] Who is He that cometh? "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end." We know these names already: at the outset of the visions the Lord God Almighty was called the Alpha and Omega; Jesus Christ was called the first and the last. Now, both names put into one are assigned to Christ. "I am the Alpha and the Omega . . . blessed are they which wash their robes . . . I, Jesus have sent Mine angel to testify these things . . . Yea: I come quickly. Amen: come, Lord Jesus."[2] Just as the name Alpha and Omega, at first connected with that of the Almighty, is at last connected with that of the Lord Jesus, so is the name the Beginning and the End, at the first connected with Him who is, and was, and is to come, at the last connected with Him that cometh quickly.

[1] Rev. xxii. 7, 12, 13.

Names given to God and to Christ now joined and assigned to Christ.

[2] Rev. xxii. 12–20. R.V.

In reviewing these successive visions, we put to ourselves, finally, two questions: First; are the things shown in these visions so set forth as to cause the person of the Lord Jesus Christ *always* to appear in the position proper to a creature, or are they so set forth as to carry it above such a position, and identify it with the glory of God Himself? Secondly; are the things here shown so set forth as to make the salvation of men appear, on the one hand, either as the effect of natural

Two final questions.

law working out an unavoidable progress, or else of an arbitrary pardon without atonement; or are they so set forth as to make salvation appear, on the other hand, as the direct result of the atoning work wrought in life and death by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

Identification of Christ with the Godhead complete.

Surely, as to the question between an intentional guarding of the distinction separating Creator and creature, or the intentional identifying of Jesus Christ with the highest glory of Godhead, hestitation there can be none. We have identification not merely in names, titles, attributes, actions, offices, descriptions, and coincidences; but in the throne itself, and in all manner of displays of its majesty. Is it the throne of God and the angels? of God and the princes of the heavenly host? of God and prophets, apostles and martyrs? No, no; never once, or by most distant possibility, does such a designation loom afar off. All these are creatures, they are "others," and never shall any "other" claim that throne as his own, or be in it adored together with Him who is One. Yet in all the visions is this throne revealed to us as the throne of God and of the Lamb. Those who fall down before it fall before God and the Lamb. Does the Lamb fall down to any? Those who praise, praise God and the Lamb. Does the Lamb raise a song to any, or to any utter the deep awe-note of "Holy, holy, holy"? As in praise, so in

All creatures kept quite distinct.

whatever else goes to constitute distinctively divine worship, all is rendered to God and the Lamb? And is any form of worship ever rendered in any presence by the Lamb? Never. We have, then, identification in position, and in homage; identification as to the Authorship of salvation, and in the administration of judgment; identification in relation to every created thing, in relation to man, whether viewed as created, or viewed as redeemed, in relation to angels in their several gradations clearly denoted; identification in relation to the heavenly world and all its beatitudes; yea, identification in relation to the Holy Ghost as the Spirit of the Father and the Son.

The Lamb the object of worship, never a worshipper.

Now therefore, when we would hearken to John the Baptist, when we would behold the Lamb of God, where shall we be able to find that we may behold Him? Master, where dwellest Thou? Martyrs! is He at the head of your noble army? Not amongst us, higher. Apostles, prophets! stands He first in your fellowship? Not among us, higher. Patriarchs! is it He that leadeth your reverend company? Not among us, higher. Angels, then! is He the Captain of your host? Not of us, higher. Elders, the crowned and throned! is He not of you, surely of you? Not of us, higher. And ye Four of the many eyes, nearest to the infinite Light, most able to receive it! is He not of you? Not of us, higher. And

The transcendent majesty and exaltation of the Lamb.

now must the awe-struck eye, after having in search of the Lamb of God traversed all the tracks of heavenly light, after having scrutinized all the forms of immortal strength and angelic beauty, timidly begin to raise itself higher still that it may range on the proper line. Passing, then, above all created beings, as when seeking the risen sun it ranges above even the peaks of everlasting snow, finally does it dare to rest on the dazzling glory of THE THRONE, and lo! "in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing as though it had been slain."[1] Standing! yea, He alone, when all creatures bow; standing above all the summits of dignity and power; standing, literally, the Most High, over all, God blessed for ever! Thus, then, when we behold the place and the power, and the majesty of Him who will not give His glory to another, manifested to us as being those of God and of the Lamb, we dare not for reverence ask, Is it, then, the glory of God and of another? for the glory is given to the Lamb because He is not another.

The Lamb above all created beings.

[1] Rev. v. 6.

Only one point more remains. Do these revelations cast light on our second main question, whether or not the work wrought for mankind by the Lord Christ was a work of atonement? So far as respects John, his writings first and last are

The nature of Christ's work for mankind.

full of our Lord's divinity and atonement. Whatever else the Apocalypse is or is not, it is at least a revelation, constantly sustained, yet from moment to moment varying, of His divinity and atonement. Never once is Christ set before us without an express declaration of His death. Even under the emblem of the Lamb He is never represented simply as a model which defect had never spotted, merely as impersonated innocence. On the contrary, the highest glories of power are employed to throw into relief His sufferings. The strongest lights of heaven are employed to show forth His death. In all the various postures of majesty wherein we behold Him, is ever preserved in some touching expression the record, that He had once placed Himself under a "curse," so that it pleased the Lord to bruise Him. Where never occurs other mention of death, except as a horror banished to the burning lake, there are the tokens of His passion enthroned. From out of the midst of displays of eternal power and life comes the testimony "I was dead:" from above the throne whence flows the river of the water of life appears His person as it had been slain. From multitudes whose own existence is for ever exempt from pain and mortality arises to Him the psalm, "Thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with Thy blood men."[1] Strange! beyond wonders wonderful! that tokens of a mortal passion, marks of death,

Christ never set before us without reference to His death.

[1] Rev. v. 9 R.V.

remembrances of the bearing of a curse, should all be set in that focus where they must strike every eye which turns towards the Fountain of life, set in the point on which converge all the worship and praise of heaven, and whence radiate all manifestations of the majesty and godhead of the "blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power eternal. Amen."[1] It is from this summit of dominion that cometh forth a voice saying unto us: "Fear not; I am the First and the Last: I am He that liveth, and was dead . . . Behold, I come quickly."[2]

1 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. R.V.

2 Rev. i. 17, 18; iii. 11.

Ascription of praise.

Even so, Amen! Thou art the First and the Last! Thou art He that liveth and was dead. Thou hast redeemed us with Thine own blood. Our happy brethren on high are there because they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. In like manner shall we attain at last unto the same victory. Then, with all who have gone before, will we take up the song which sings: "Unto Him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by His blood; and He made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto His God and Father; to Him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen."[3]

Rev. i. 5, 6. R.V.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

AN

ABIDING WITNESS TO THE DEATH OF CHRIST

BY

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L,

Argument of the Tract.

THE Lord's Supper as celebrated in every land is a standing witness to the truth of Christianity.

The continuous observance of the rite is traceable by means of living liturgies up to the fifth and fourth centuries. These, classed in various "families," appertain to different Churches. They all agree in substance, but vary in detail. The *order* in each ancient liturgy, constituting its identity, can be followed upward to an early age. Variety, proof of independent transmission; similarity, of a common origin.

[Ancient liturgies are adduced simply as witnesses of observance. No countenance is implied to their teaching, abounding as they do with error and superstition. The object in view is one of fact and not of doctrine.]

Earlier than liturgies, the evidence of Christian writers is adduced as proving prevalence of the rite up to the first century.

The institution of the Supper, described in the Gospel, accounts for the facts. No other cause adequate.

Prevalence of the rite is therefore evidence of the institution as so described.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

AN

Abiding Witness to the Death of Christ.[1]

HERESOEVER the traveller goes, there he sees Christians celebrating an ordinance which they call "The Lord's Supper." At home or abroad, in lands civilized or barbarous, throughout every quarter of the globe into which the faith has penetrated, by the adherents of every Church, whether Greek, Roman-catholic or Protestant, Syrian, Armenian, Copt, or Ethiopian,—everywhere alike, he finds this rite performed. In some societies more frequently, in others less; in some with elaborate form and

The Lord's Supper prevails everywhere

[1] In this Tract reference is made to the following works :—

1. *Origines Liturgicæ*, with a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies; by the Rev. W. PALMER. London, 1845.

2. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, by C. E. HAMMOND. Oxford, 1878. *Appendix* to the same. Oxford, 1879.

3. *The Lord's Supper; Uninspired Teaching*, by the Rev. CHARLES HEBERT, D.D. London, 1879.

4. *The Greek Liturgies*, chiefly from original Authorities, by C. A. SWAINSON, D.D. London, 1884.

5. ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. [The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.] By PHILOTHEUS BRYENNIUS, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, D.D. of Edinburgh. Constantinople, 1883.

ceremony, in others with severe simplicity,—one way or another, the "Communion of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ" will be witnessed in universal force and prevalence.

And has prevailed in every age.

And not the less as we look into the past, do we find that the same custom has everywhere and at all times been practised. The records of each bygone century bear testimony to its observance amongst every people professing the Christian faith. History of past ages teems with mention of the rite up to the very earliest times.

Object of the ordinance.

And so, likewise, if one be asked, as in the case of the Jewish passover, "*What mean ye by this service?*"[1] the answer will be found everywhere and at all times the same, It is observed in obedience to the command of Jesus Christ, "*This do in remembrance of Me.*" The essential feature of the rite as practised from the beginning of Christianity, and as it may be seen practised in every church at the present day, is substantially the same. Bread is broken, as at a supper; and wine is poured into a cup. In presence of these symbols, the words of Jesus Christ, as spoken at the Last Supper, are recited with more or less of thanksgiving, prayer, and invocation. The bread and wine are then partaken of by the worshippers, in express obedience to do this in remembrance of Him.

The object of the present Tract is to inquire how

[1] Exodus xii. 26.

Theme of present Tract.

the ordinance has come thus into universal use; to trace it to its first beginnings, and to see whether there is evidence of continuous observance. Let us, therefore, first inquire what is alleged by Christians themselves to have been its origin.

Institution described in Gospels.

The first occasion of the rite is thus described in the New Testament. It was the season when, in memory of their deliverance in the land of Egypt, the Jews kept "the sacrifice of the Lord's passover."[1] On the evening before his crucifixion, Jesus foreseeing what was about to come to pass, desired his disciples to make ready the passover, that he might for the last time keep the feast with them;—

And they made ready the passover. Now when the even was come, He sat down with the twelve. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer; for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, Drink ye all of it. For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Verily, I say unto you, I will not drink of this fruit of the vine until the day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

And the Apostle Paul, after a similar statement, adds these words:—

"For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show (or proclaim) the Lord's death till he come."[2]

[1] So called, Exodus xii. 27.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23.

Lord's Supper germane to celebration of Paschal feast.

Before advancing to the argument, let us pause for a moment to consider the occasion here described as bearing on the characteristics of the rite. Our Saviour's action was in itself so singular as to be altogether unlike anything we meet with elsewhere in the history of the world. That a leader should, on the eve of his death, bequeath to his followers a rite to be kept up in his memory, is itself without a parallel. Still stranger are the symbols used, and the doctrine taught. Bread broken in token that the Master was about, on behalf of his people, to meet with a violent death; wine poured out, in token that his blood was about to be shed for the remission of their sins;—sentiments so novel and startling as to be without the range of ordinary thought or comprehension. And, as if one more element of the unnatural still were wanting, these emblems of their Master's flesh and blood were to be thereafter continually eaten and drank by the disciples in remembrance of him. And yet if we read the Gospels we shall find these things to be altogether in keeping with the previous teaching of Jesus as there set forth. Further, when viewed in connection with the surroundings of the supper just described, the whole becomes intelligible and consistent.

And naturally suggested by it.

Viewed thus, the improbabilities vanish away, for the ceremony was in closest symbolism with the national festival which, at this last moment of

his life, Jesus was celebrating with his disciples. The paschal lamb was slain and eaten by the Jews in perpetual memory of the lamb sacrificed, and the blood sprinkled on their lintels, in the land of Goshen when the destroying angel passed over the land and spared the children of Israel. As the apostles sat thus around him at supper, with the representation of the sacrifice before them, by a natural transition in harmony with the rite which they were celebrating, Jesus took up from the table bread and wine, as emblems of his body which (as he had told them before) would be given, and his blood shed, for the deliverance of his people; bade his disciples to eat and to drink of the same, a visible and tangible recognition of redemption by his death; and as a dying request, desired them to perpetuate the rite in remembrance of him. Thus what at first sight seemed forced and far-fetched, —hardly within the reach even of inventive fancy, —becomes natural and appropriate. "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us." "This cup," as the Founder said, "is the New Covenant in my blood which is shed for you. This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me."[1]

Institution suggested by Paschal feast.

If, now, it be assumed that the above narrative of the institution is founded on an historical basis of fact, we hold that it is adequate to explain the propagation of the rite, its universal prevalence, and its maintenance from age to age even to the

Narrative of Evangelists sufficient to explain facts.

[1] 1 Cor. v. 7; xi. 25

Gospel narrative adequate as a cause

present day. For, from the very first, every disciple would feel bound to join, as a pledge of grateful love, in obeying His Master's last command. And, the faith spreading, companies of believers, when they came together to worship, would celebrate "the Lord's Supper," testifying thus continually their faith in the great Sacrifice "for the remission of sins." As church after church was founded, the ordinance would naturally and necessarily form part of its stated service. The order of the rite, and the prayers preceding and following it, would have the tendency to become stereotyped; and so Communion services, or "liturgies," would spring up. Each church, or group of churches, would have its own peculiar way of administering the Sacrament; and that way, considering the tenacity with which men cling to their ceremonies, would be preserved and handed down unchanged. Such, we might presume, would be the natural course of events arising out of the assumed cause. And such, in point of fact, we find to have been the state of things as revealed to us by the records of succeeding ages; such, too, as we see everywhere existing at the present day. Wheresoever the name of Jesus Christ is named, there prevails also His dying command. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?"[1]

[1] 1 Cor. x. 16.

One step further. Admitting the assumed cause as sufficient to explain the facts, is there any other supposable cause adequate to do the same? Can any point of time or place be indicated, at which a tale could possibly have been invented sufficient to produce the same results; namely, to have created this rite, and caused its universal and perpetual observance? If there be not, then we are shut up to the conclusion that the institution itself, as described in the New Testament, is a fact. To answer these questions is the object of this Tract; and for that end, we shall examine the evidence, from age to age, of the prevalence of the rite.

Is any other cause adequate?

Our theme shall be that the assumed cause is adequate to account for the facts; and none other is.

Argument.

The process of inquiry will conveniently be upwards. Taking our stand on what we know and see about us of the observance of the Supper in our own age, we shall ascend the stream of time, and seek thus to trace the common custom to its first beginning. In this endeavour we are aided by a remarkable testimony which is absolutely unique of its kind, namely, the liturgies used for the communion service in the various churches throughout the Christian world. These will be examined simply as witnesses to the performance of the rite, and without reference to the superstition and corruptions of the simple doctrine of the Supper with which they abound, and for which

Process of inquiry upwards.

Evidence of liturgies.

the institution, as given in the evangelical narrative, can in no wise be held responsible.

Liturgies described.

Every ancient church, or group of churches, possesses one or more liturgies for the communion service peculiar to itself. These, which are mostly of extreme antiquity, agree in having the same general outline. The essential ceremonies are common to them all, though it may be in different order. There is first the ante-communion service, at which alone, in early times, the catechumens, or unbaptized, were allowed to be present. After their dismissal comes the proper communion service, or *Anaphora*.[1] In every liturgy there is the prayer of Consecration, in which are recited the words of Institution as given in the Gospels; the breaking of the bread; distribution of the elements, and thanksgiving. Such are the essential parts, added to which are always found a hymn, prayers for the church at large and for all estates, and commemoration of the dead. But (1) the *order* or sequence of the several parts is not the same in the liturgies of different churches, though seldom or never found to change in the same church or patriarchate. And (2) the prayers and expressions in use may vary in the course of

[1] *Anaphora* means the offering up of a sacrifice; and the name no doubt was given after the sacrificial idea gained currency. In the English service the end of the prefatory portion, and commencement of the Anaphora, or solemn service, would correspond with the opening verses of the Offertory.

ages in the liturgies of the same Church, while *the order, or succession of parts,* (as just said,) *remains the same;* and this order it is which constitutes the identity of a liturgy, or group of liturgies. As the order was in the most ancient times to which we can trace it, in each church or group of churches, so from age to age, with few exceptions, it has been handed down unchanged; and so we find it still in use in the communities which are their successors at the present day. The writings of Christian authors, again, are full of allusions to the Supper; and these enable us to follow up the order, and confirm the identity of the several liturgies, to the earliest age. So much as to the nature of the liturgies and the character of the evidence we are about to adduce, it was needful to say by way of preface.

Liturgies described.

Ancient liturgies may be classed into four great families, namely, as in use (1) by the Oriental churches; (2) by the Alexandrian; (3) by the Roman; (4) by the Gallican and Spanish. Now, each of these families, as above explained, differs from the rest, more or less, in the order of its several parts, as well as in many of the details. The accompanying table, which gives in outline for each family of liturgies the arrangement of the leading portions, will show at a glance what is meant. The essential parts, and to a great extent the substance throughout, are the same; but there are important differences in the order. For example,

Liturgies classed in four great families.

Comparative Table of Order in the Four Great Families of Liturgies.

ORIENTAL.	ALEXANDRIAN (AND ETHIOPIC).	ROMAN.	GALLICAN AND SPANISH.
Kiss of Peace.	Kiss of Peace.	*Sursum Corda.*	Prayers and Hymn.
Benediction.	*Sursum Corda.*	Thanksgiving.	Prayers for Living and Dead.
Sursum Corda.	Thanksgiving.	*Tersanctus.*	Collect and Kiss of Peace.
Thanksgiving.	Prayer for Living and Dead.	Prayers for Living.	*Sursum Corda.*
Tersanctus.	Thanksgiving, continued with *Tersanctus.*	Words of Institution.	Thanksgiving with *Tersanctus*
Words of Institution.	Words of Institution.	Oblation.	Words of Institution.
Oblation.	Prayer of Deprecation.	Commemoration of the Dead.	Oblation and Invocation.
Invocation.	Oblation.	Fraction.	Fraction.
Prayers for Living, and Commemoration of Dead.	Invocation.	Lord's Prayer.[1]	Lord's Prayer.
Lord's Prayer.	Fraction.	Kiss of Peace.	Benediction.
Benediction.	Lord's Prayer	Communion.	Communion (with *Gustate et Videte*, Ps. xxxiv. 8).
"*The Holy to the holy.*"	Benediction.	Prayer.	Thanksgiving.
Fraction (breaking of bread).	"*The Holy to the holy.*"		
Communion.	Communion.		
Thanksgiving.	Thanksgiving.		

NOTE.—*Sursum Corda* (ἄνω σχῶμεν τας καρδίας), "Lift up your hearts," with the response. It is in all the Liturgies but the Ethiopic. The *Kiss of Peace* was preceded by the Salutation and Response. It occurs several times in the Greek Liturgy; and it did so also in Chrysostom's time, as he tells us. *Tersanctus*, that is the Seraphic hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," etc.

[1] Since Gregory's time the Lord's Prayer is placed before the Fraction; but the Milan Liturgy retains the old order.

the *Salutation and Kiss of Peace* is at the beginning of the Oriental and Alexandrian rites, but at the close of the Roman. So with the prayers for the Living and the Dead, at the beginning of some, and at the end of others.[1] So, likewise, with the various other forms and ceremonies,—invocation, fraction, benediction, the Lord's prayer, etc. Each church held to its own order; and, according to human wont in matters of rites and ceremonies, held to it with the utmost tenacity. Thus France clung to the Gallican rite, and Spain to the Mosarabic (both taken early from the East), till Rome at last with difficulty succeeded in imposing her own ritual in place of them.[2]

Four great families of liturgies

We shall now, with Palmer as our guide,[3] inquire what evidence there is of the antiquity of these various forms. We have, first, the living liturgies themselves as in actual use throughout the world. Some of the manuscripts of these are of a great

Process of Palmer for tracing earliest forms.

[1] The position of the prayer for "the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth," in the English service, and the corresponding form in that of the Scottish Episcopal Church, will illustrate this variation. In the former it comes at the beginning of the liturgy. In the latter (supposed to have been received from the East) it comes near the end.

[2] We can find illustrations of such conservatism nearer home. The Scottish Episcopal rite still holds its place against the greater influence of the English. And even in respect of the latter, we can observe the strong attachment to the past in certain forms and ceremonies of the minutest character.

[3] See his work quoted at the beginning.

Palmer's process for tracing earliest forms.

age.[1] Taking that form in each church or patriarchate, which bears marks of the greatest antiquity, Palmer proceeds to trace the notices of it in the early writers who lived within the same patriarchate. A species of incidental proof as to the order (wherein, as before explained, lies the identity), and frequently even as to the substance and expressions, of the several liturgies, is thus obtained, at once unexpected, and conclusive of their early use.

I.

Oriental Liturgies.

Oriental family richest in variety of liturgies.

We shall begin with the Oriental family, which is the most fertile in liturgies, and in succession take up the several patriarchates of the Eastern Church. The object will be to show that in each there existed from the earliest times an *independent* form of service, and that a distinct individuality is stamped upon the liturgy of every separate church.

Syria.—Liturgy of "St. James."

Syria.—The *Patriarchate of Antioch* included in its jurisdiction, Syria, Judæa, and the south of Asia Minor. A liturgy bearing the name of "St. James" (said to have been the first bishop of Jerusalem) prevailed here of old; and a liturgy still so called is found in use throughout the same country at the present day. With the view of exhibiting

[1] One proof being the names of the Metropolitans, etc., of the day, who are mentioned in the prayers, and the dates of whose incumbency are known.

the full force of Palmer's argument, I propose to give an outline of the reasoning by which he proves "the liturgy of St. James" to have been the ancient and original rite of the patriarchate.

Schism between Orthodox and Monophysite churches.

In Syria there exist two rival Churches, the Monophysite or *Jacobite*, and the Orthodox or *Melchite*. The former hold the doctrine of a single nature, (that is, they deny as distinct the human nature of Christ, affirming it to have been absorbed and made one in the Divine), a heresy which was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. The Melchites (or Royalists), are so called from their attachment to the doctrines of the Byzantine Court, and their communion with the church of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Since the schism, the Monophysite and Orthodox churches have held no intercourse whatever with each other; and the Saracen conquerors, by countenancing the "heretical" party, have intensified and perpetuated the schism. In some parts, indeed, as in Egypt, the Orthodox have been entirely ousted by their antagonists.

"St. James'" liturgy in use in both churches.

Now we find a liturgy bearing the name of St. James, recognized, as their ancient form of service, by both Churches at the present day. It is in common use among the Monophysites in the Syrian language. The corresponding liturgy in the hands of the Orthodox, is in Greek; and the Lord's Supper is celebrated according to it on special occasions,—

"St. James" liturgy in use both by Orthodox and Monophysites.

notably so once every year, on the anniversary of the Apostle whose name it bears. Of the title of the liturgy as that of "St. James," we find notices amongst the Monophysite writers as far back as the sixth or seventh century. The same may be said of the Orthodox; for example, in the ninth century it is mentioned in a letter of the Emperor Charles the Bald;[1] and the Council of Trullo, A.D. 691, quotes the same (as well as the liturgy of St. Basil) in support of one of its canons.[2] Now, as the two Churches held no communication with each other after the middle of the fifth century, the common name for the liturgy in use among both must by strong probability have existed from a time anterior to their division. A liturgy under this title must accordingly have prevailed in the patriarchate of Syria, in the fifth century; and the rite itself, as embodied in such liturgy, by presumption, long before.

Both versions closely correspond.

Having reached this conclusion, Palmer next collates, both as to order and substance, the two versions of St. James's liturgy as used in either church, and he shows them to agree in a surprising way. Where the Orthodox rite varies from the other, the variation is obviously meant to bring the

[1] "The liturgy," he says in an epistle to the clergy of Ravenna, "was celebrated before us according to the rite of Jerusalem, whose author was James the Apostle."

[2] Palmer, I. pp. 18, 19.

service into conformity with the Byzantine liturgy called after St. Chrysostom,—a proceeding which might have been expected from the subjection of the Orthodox Syrians to the see of Constantinople These alterations must have occurred at an early date, for they appear in a MS. older than the tenth century; but they must equally have taken place after the schism of the fifth century. Making due allowance for varieties so caused, it is astonishing how closely the Monophysite and Orthodox texts, as extant and in actual use, do correspond. What is common to the two must have been equally common to them both, at the schism in the fifth century. Further, what was in common use by the Church of that day, must by presumption have been in established practice long before.

Both versions correspond

And must have corresponded before the fifth century

I may now quote the conclusion of Palmer in his own words, as respects the correspondence of the two liturgies and the value of the evidence arising therefrom:

Quotation from Palmer to this effect.

"These liturgies," he says, "begin the *Anaphora* with the benediction 'The love of God, the grace of the Son, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all.' Then follow the address '*Sursum corda*,' etc., and a preface or thanksgiving; then the hymn *Tersanctus*, followed by a continuation of thanksgiving: then a commemoration of our Saviour's deeds and words at the Last Supper, a verbal oblation, and a prayer for the Holy Ghost to sanctify the elements into the sacraments of Christ's body and blood. Whoever compares these parts of the Orthodox and Monophysite liturgies together, will be surprised at their minute agreement together in sentiments and expressions, when he considers the centuries that have elapsed since the separation of the Orthodox and the Monophysites.

Correspondence between the two versions of "St. James" liturgy.

"After this, the solemn prayers for all estates of men, and for all things, succeed. The order of these prayers is a little different in the two liturgies, but their substance and the words of the petitions generally agree.[1] . . . The difference in these prayers as to expressions, is chiefly caused by a greater fulness and variety of epithet in one than in the other.

"After the prayers and commemorations followed a salutation, and a bidding prayer by the deacon. Then a Collect introductory to the Lord's Prayer; then the Lord's Prayer and a benediction. After this comes the form of address τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (the Holy to the holy). The bread is broken . . . and communion takes place; after which comes a prayer of thanksgiving, and a benediction of the people. The Orthodox liturgy gives these last forms at greater length than the Monophysite.

"Whoever compares these venerable monuments will not fail to perceive a great and striking resemblance throughout. He will readily acknowledge their derivation from one common source; and will admit that they furnish means for ascertaining all the substance, and many of the expressions, which were used in the solemn *Anaphora* of the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, before the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451."[2]

References in writers of fifth and fourth centuries agreeing with this liturgy.

Having thus proved that the order and substance of the "liturgy of St. James," in use at the present day, is as a whole identical with that which was in use in the fifth century, our author next examines the early writers of the same province to see whether their notices of the celebration of the Supper tally with this common liturgy, both as to form and material. The answers are distinct and

[1] Palmer explains that this being "an accessory part of the liturgy," a degree of variety was admissible, "which would have been regarded as unsafe, if it had been introduced into the essential parts of the office."

[2] Palmer, I. 27. In the erudite and laborious work quoted at the beginning, Swainson has collated marginally the places in which the canon of the two churches corresponds both in substance and expression.

satisfactory. *Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus, who died shortly after the Council of Chalcedon, quotes the Benediction, adding, "Such is the beginning of the mystical liturgy in all the churches,"—as in point of fact we so find it in this liturgy still to be. *Jerome* (end of fourth century) refers to the repetition of the Lord's prayer in the communion service. He also quotes a Greek phrase "as recited daily by the priests," which exactly corresponds with the extant form.[1] Turning now to the writings of *Chrysostom*, while yet a presbyter at Antioch, we find in them frequent allusion to the part taken in the service of the Supper, both by the clergy and the laity. He mentions the Benediction; "Lift up your hearts," etc., with the response, "It is just and right so to do;" and also the Thanksgiving, in terms which leave no doubt of its identity with the living versions. He quotes the hymn Tersanctus; the words, "This is My body;" speaks of the Supper as a "bloodless sacrifice;" of the general prayers that follow for all estates, and of the commemoration of the living and the dead; the Lord's prayer; "the Holy to the holy;" the breaking of the bread, and the communion. And so Palmer concludes that Chrysostom confirms "the order, substance, and sentiments in a remarkable manner"

References in early writers.

[1] "Every day the voices of the priests celebrate *ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος*," *i.e.*, "the alone sinless One," an expression found both in the Orthodox and Monophysite versions, and there appointed to be said by the priest only.

References to liturgy of "St. James" in early writers.

of the liturgy common to both Churches; "and we may therefore say," he continues, "that the same liturgy (substantially) was used at Antioch in the latter part of the fourth century, as I have shewn to have been used there before the middle of the fifth." [1]

Continued. Ephrem Syrus.

Still earlier, Ephrem Syrus (died, *circa* 387) in his treatise "*de Sacerdotio*," refers to the order of prayer used in the consecration of the elements. He speaks of the oblation, and prayer of deprecation, of the invocation of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the gifts, of the prayer for all things, and lastly of the communion. He notices also the Thanksgiving, the hymn Tersanctus, and the commemoration of the departed in the liturgy. All of which references "confirm remarkably the text of the Syriac liturgy of St. James." [2]

Cyril.

Again, *Cyril*, bishop of Jerusalem, in the same patriarchate, in his lectures on the mysteries, addressed to the "newly baptized," and written in the fourth century (probably before the middle of it), gives a minute account of the rite for celebration of the Supper, which conforms with St. James's liturgy in the most remarkable way. In the fourth lecture, he quotes the testimony of St. Paul.[3] In the fifth he speaks of the washing of their hands by the clergy at "the altar of God" as symbolical of the needful purity of soul; then of the kiss of

[1] Palmer, I. pp. 30–34. [2] Ibid. p. 34. [3] 1 Cor. xi. 23–25.

peace; then of the form, Lift up your hearts, and the response. After this he describes most minutely the Thanksgiving, down to the Tersanctus; then he speaks of the invocation, the prayers for all men and things, and the commemoration of the living and the dead; of the Lord's prayer; of the form, "the Holy to the holy;" and lastly of the singing of the psalm, "O taste and see,"[1] while the people were receiving the sacrament. Now all this closely corresponds with the extant liturgy of both churches; and, especially in the thanksgiving and prayer of commemoration, bears wonderful marks of identity in sentiment and even expression.[2]

Notices in the writings of Cyril.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (a work quoted by Epiphanius, and therefore not later—probably earlier—than the fourth century), there is embodied a liturgy called the Clementine, which "in its order, its substance, and many of its expressions, is identical with that of St. James," an additional proof of the antiquity of the latter.[3]

Apostolical Constitutions.

Lastly, Justin Martyr (died 163) a native of Samaria, in the same patriarchate, gives an account of the Supper as observed in his day; and "his description agrees exactly with the liturgy of Antioch in after times." His testimony will be quoted later on. Meanwhile, it will suffice to say

Justin Martyr.

[1] Psalm xxxiv.

[2] Palmer, I. p. 36. The whole passage is quoted at p. 209 of Swainson.

[3] Ibid. p. 39.

that the liturgy with which Justin Martyr was familiar, substantially agrees with that prevailing in the same patriarchate in after times.[1]

Conclusion as to antiquity of "St. James'" liturgy.

Such, then, is the argument as regards one of these ancient liturgies. First, its common use by divergent churches, carries it back, as an integral form of celebration, to the fifth century. Next, the cumulative evidence of early Christian penmen establishes the fact that the *same order* prevailed over the same tract in the third and fourth centuries; and many sentiments and expressions incidentally mentioned by these writers as in connection with the Supper, correspond with the liturgy of St. James now in our hands. The presumption that a rite prevailing thus throughout the patriarchate in the third century must have so prevailed by virtue of a long prescriptive grasp, is corroborated by the notices of Justin. And so our author is justified in concluding that, although we cannot take the Liturgy of St. James as a guide in respect of its expressions farther back than the fourth or fifth centuries, we may assume on strong probability, that the order (constituting the identity and independence of the rite) was the same from the beginning.

Extract from Palmer

"In conclusion," he remarks, "there are satisfactory means of ascertaining the order, substance, and generally the expressions, of the solemn liturgy used all through the patriarchate of Antioch and Jerusalem, before the year 451; that the liturgy

[1] Palmer, I. p. 42.

thus ascertained coincides with the notices which the fathers of that country give concerning their liturgy, during the fifth and fourth centuries: that this liturgy was used in the whole patriarchate of Antioch, in the fourth century, with little variety; that it prevailed there in the third century, and even in the second. The liturgy of St. James, in Greek and Syriac, may therefore be considered to be derived from the most primitive times. . . . We cannot, however, rely on the *expressions* of this liturgy as a sure guide to the sentiments of the earliest ages. Unsupported by corroborative evidence, they are of little value beyond the fifth century, and only a certain portion can be corroborated by testimonies of the fourth and third centuries. Nor can we affirm that every part of the *substance* of the liturgy had existed from the beginning; but we may safely say that whatever parts of the liturgy had existed from the beginning had likewise existed always in the same order relatively to each other; and this order it is which essentially and mainly constitutes the identity of liturgies."[1]

Conclusive proof of antiquity of "St. James'" liturgy.

For the "Liturgy of St. James," I have thus given the argument in considerable detail, regarding it of importance to show the nature of the proof on which the individuality and independence of the rite as practised in the several patriarchates, is by Palmer grounded. Having done so in respect of this one liturgy, it will suffice to notice others with greater brevity.

Reason for dwelling so long on this liturgy.

Asia Minor.—Travelling north, we enter another patriarchate. Its centre was Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; but it fell at an early period under the ecclesiastical supremacy of Constantinople. The voice of antiquity ascribes a liturgy to St. Basil, who was bishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 370. And, in point

Asia Minor.

Liturgy of St. Basil.

[1] Palmer, I. p. 43.

Liturgy of St. Basil.

of fact, a liturgy bearing his name has prevailed in times past; and a liturgy at the present day recognized as his is in actual use, not only throughout Asia Minor, but over the whole of that portion of Christendom which is subordinate to Constantinople. It is quoted in the proceedings of a council which met at Byzantium, A.D. 691, and which grounded one of its decrees upon it. Leontius, a writer of the same Metropolis, notices this liturgy, A.D. 590. And Peter the deacon, writing A.D. 520, makes a distinct quotation from Basil's communion office, and speaks of it as "in almost universal use throughout the East."[1] There is ample evidence that Basil did in some sort prepare a liturgical service. Gregory Nazianzen, his friend, praises him "for the order of prayers which he introduced." And Basil himself writes that "the customs of divine service which he had appointed were consonant and agreeable to all the churches of God,"—that is to say, the order and forms enjoined by him conformed to the rite as at that time practised throughout the province.[2]

Antiquity of this liturgy.

Of this liturgy there are three several texts: *First*, the Constantinopolitan, which has been in use, and is still on certain occasions followed, by the entire Greek church. *Second*, a Syriac version handed down amongst the Syrian Christians, and

[1] Palmer, I. p. 56. [2] Ibid. p. 47.

to the present day used at stated seasons by them. *Third*, the Alexandrian version, which has been so far modified as to make it conform to the order of the Egyptian and Ethiopic rite. This last is extant in three languages, Arabic, Greek, and Coptic. The Coptic service was evidently derived at some early period from the Greek, as many of the directions in its rubric are simply transliterated from that language. Now all these versions of St. Basil's liturgy agree substantially one with the other. Further, they are in common use both by the Orthodox and Monophysite communions (the Egyptian and Ethiopic church belonging to the latter); and hence, for the reason with which the reader is already familiar, they must have sprung from a common original prior to the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

Antiquity of St. Basil's liturgy.

It is unnecessary to give further details regarding this liturgy, and I will only add here the general conclusion of Palmer concerning it.

Palmer's conclusion regarding it

"This was the form which was received by all the patriarchate of Antioch, translated into Coptic, revised by the patriarch of Alexandria, and admitted into their Church, used alike by orthodox and heretics. At this day, after the lapse of nearly 1500 years, the liturgy of Basil prevails, without any substantial variety, from the northern shore of Russia to the extremities of Abyssinia, and from the Adriatic and Baltic seas to the furthest coast of Asia. We can trace the words and expressions of the greater portion to about the year 370 A.D."[1]

[1] Palmer, I. p. 66.

country from which this church sprang, describes the order of communion in terms corresponding (save the above exception) with the Nestorian form.[1]

II.

Alexandrian Liturgies.

Liturgies of Alexandria and Ethiopia.

Egypt and Ethiopia. The Copts adopted Monophysite views in the great schism of the fifth century, and have ever since held by the same. The schismatics were favoured by the Mahometan conquerors in the seventh century, and soon entirely supplanted the Orthodox party. There are three liturgies followed by the Coptic church—those of Cyril, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen,—used on different fasts and festivals throughout the year. The last two belong to the Oriental type, adapted, however, to the Egyptian custom. The liturgy of Basil, as used in Egypt, is (as already explained) extant in Greek, Arabic, and Coptic. The Coptic is in an ancient form of speech, not now understood, it is said, even by the priests who repeat it. Since this version closely corresponds with the liturgy of Basil, as in use by the Orthodox Church in other countries (barring some modifications to suit the

St. Basil's liturgy.

[1] "The exclusion of unbelievers, the triumphal hymn, intercession for living and dead, the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the rite of consignation" (dipping half of a fragment of bread in the wine, and thereafter joining it to the other piece) "are distinctly mentioned by Ephrem of Edessa, who died A.D. 378."—Hammond, p. lx.

Egyptian order), it follows that it must be more ancient than the council of Chalcedon. The liturgy of Gregory Nazianzen resembles to a great extent the rite of St. James. The remaining liturgy, that of St. Cyril, is believed by Palmer to be the most ancient form indigenous to Egypt. In certain remarkable points it differs from all other extant liturgies excepting only that of Ethiopia, which conforms to it and to no other.[1] Now, Ethiopia, as a nation, was converted by missionaries from

Liturgy of Gregory Nazianzen.

Liturgy of Cyril.

[1] The chief peculiarities are that the prayers for all estates occur in the middle of the Thanksgiving and before the Tersanctus ; whereas in the Oriental liturgies they are deferred till later in the service. Then there are peculiar directions to be given by the deacon to the people, *e.g.*, in the course of the Thanksgiving to "arise," to "look to the East," to "attend," to "sing" the *Tersanctus*, etc.

I have not noticed the "Liturgy of St. Mark," a MS. of which was discovered some centuries ago. This agrees in the above and certain other particulars with the liturgy of Cyril and the Ethiopian rite, and with no other. It is supposed to have been the service used by the Orthodox while still in Egypt, —having references to the rise of the Nile, etc. It was somewhat altered, to conform to the rite of Constantinople, whither the Orthodox patriarch after a time retired; but it is now altogether obsolete, its use having been confined to the Orthodox alone, who have long since died out of Egypt, and with them this liturgy. But the correspondence of the liturgy of Mark with Cyril's liturgy as used by the Monophysites, proves that they were both derived from a common source that existed anterior to the schism. The inquiry which of the three forms now in use in Egypt was the most ancient, is not devoid of interest ; but it is not essential to our argument, and I do not, therefore, pursue it further.

The Coptic liturgy in use in Ethiopia will be found at the close of Swainson's volume, edited from two MSS. brought from Magdâla.

Liturgy of Cyril,

Egypt in the fourth century, and naturally must have received its form of celebrating the Lord's Supper from thence. The presumption, therefore,

And of Ethiopia.

is strong that the parent liturgy,—that, namely, which formed the original ground-work both of Cyril's and the Ethiopian—prevailed in Egypt in the fourth century, and by inference was in established use for a period long anterior thereto.[1]

Early notices in Alexandrian writers.

The Egyptian rite is frequently referred to by the Alexandrian fathers,—though the Christian writers of that time were chary of disclosing their mysteries before unbelievers. A few of the notices given by Palmer will illustrate the strength of the evidence: —

The dismissal of catechumens before the solemn rite, is mentioned by Cyril (died *circa* 386), and by almost every Egyptian father. Cyril also quotes a passage from the prayers.[2] He speaks of the communion service beginning with the salutation "Peace be with you," and the worshippers' response,—a form mentioned in like manner by Isidore (died *c.* 456) and by Origen (died *c.* 254). The thanksgiving is noticed by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, (died *c.* 265) and by Origen. The commemoration of departed saints is mentioned by John Cassian (died *c.* 433), by Origen, and by the Egyptian bishops, in a letter to Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople. The oblation is spoken of by Cyril, Athanasius (died *c.* 373), and Origen. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria (died

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[1] The Ethiopians, as a people, were converted by Frumentius, A.D. 330; and he was ordained bishop of Abyssinia by the Patriarch of Alexandria.

[2] "We are taught in the prayers to say, *O Lord our God, grant unto us peace, for it is Thou that hast given all things unto us*,"—words occurring both in the Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions of the liturgy.—Palmer, I., p. 100.

circa 412)[1] Isidore, and Origen[2] refer to the invocation of the Holy Ghost. The concluding *Amen* of the people is mentioned by Athanasius and Dionysius;[3] as is the breaking of bread, by Theophilus and others. Macarius, an Egyptian monk (died *c.* 390), writes of the lessons and psalms preceding, and then of the "mystical Eucharist of the offering by the priest," and participation by the worshippers, as being essential to the communion.[4] Early notices.

From all these considerations, Palmer draws the conclusion that "the main order and substance" of the Alexandrian liturgy are of extreme antiquity;— Extreme antiquity of Alexandrian rite.

"I have shown," he says, "that a certain form of liturgy prevailed throughout the patriarchate of Alexandria in the fifth century, from a comparison of the liturgies used by two bodies of men who have held no communion since that time.[5] I have

[1] Speaking of Origen, he says: Non recogitat panem Domini cum quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur, et quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostri, et sacrum calicem, quae in mensa ecclesiæ, et utique in anima sunt per invocationem et adventum sancti spiritus sanctificari.

[2] In his book against Celsus, he writes: "Let Celsus, in ignorance of God, render his offerings to demons. We, on the contrary, giving thanks to the Creator of all things, eat the bread which has been brought, with thankfulness and prayer for the things presented; becoming, as they do, through the prayer, a kind of holy body, and sanctifying those that make a holy offering of them unto Him.

[3] Justifying the reception, without re-baptism, of one who had been baptized by a "heretic," he says: "Having heard the eucharist (thanksgiving), and joined in the Amen, and stood by the table, and reached forth his hands for the holy food, and received the same, and partaken of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ for so long, I could not dare anew to re-constitute him from the beginning."—*Euseb.* vii. 9.

[4] See the passage quoted by Hebert, I., 322.

[5] Palmer's argument here has immediate reference to the correspondence between the liturgy of Mark as once in use among the Orthodox, and that of Cyril still in use among the Monophysites. But the argument is still stronger, as we have seen, in reference to the liturgy of St. Basil.

Extreme antiquity of Alexandrian rite.

compared the liturgy thus ascertained with the writings of the Egyptian fathers of the fifth, fourth, and third centuries; and so far as I can discover from thence, the same order appears to have prevailed from the earliest period. I have also remarked that the Ethiopians have probably had the same liturgy, *as to order*, since the fourth century, when they derived it from Alexandria; and I find that order agreeing with the Alexandrian of the fifth century, already ascertained. In conclusion, then, we can ascertain with considerable certainty the words and expressions of the Alexandrian liturgy before the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; and we can trace back its *substance* and *order* to a period of far greater antiquity."[1]

III.

The Roman Liturgy.

Western liturgies.

Of the Western liturgies we have fewer collateral notices, from the paucity of early Christian writers; but, equally with the Eastern, the rite embodied in them bears distinct mark of individuality and independence.

The Roman liturgy.

For the liturgy of Rome we cannot go back with the same certainty to so early a period as in the case of the Oriental liturgies. We know that Gregory the Great (590 A.D.) made alterations in the services by "improving and shortening" the collects; but he maintained the ancient order, excepting in one particular, namely, that, in accordance with what he thought to have been "the custom of the Apostles," he placed the Lord's Prayer in conjunction with the canon or solemn service proper, *before* the breaking of bread, instead

[1] Palmer I. p. 104.

of the position which it previously occupied after the same.[1] Fifty years earlier, Vigilius wrote a letter (538 A.D.) to a Spanish bishop, in which he explains the order of the Roman "canon," which he says, "they had received as handed down from the Apostles."[2] His description coincides with the liturgy of subsequent times, and proves that it was esteemed very ancient even in his day. Gelasius, (492 A.D.) we are told, performed a similar service to that of Gregory, in improving the collects, without touching their order. Leo, bishop of Rome at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, is said to have added to the canon certain expressions.[3]

The Roman liturgy.

About the beginning of the 5th century, Innocent, also bishop of Rome, wrote a letter to a Gallican bishop, in which he speaks of the Roman rite as having descended from Peter, and directs that the Kiss of peace should be given after the canon, and that likewise mention should be made of the persons who presented offerings,—in both respects differing from the Gallican and Spanish liturgies. In the absence of earlier evidence, Palmer concludes thus:

Roman liturgy differs from Gallican.

"Suffice it to say that this liturgy was substantially the same in the time of Gelasius as it was in the time of Gregory, that it appears to have been the same in the time of Innocent as at the beginning of the fifth century, and was esteemed at that time, and in the subsequent age, to be of apostolical antiquity."[4]

[1] See the authorities quoted by Palmer, I., p. 113.

[2] Ex apostolica traditione suscepimus.

[3] "The sacred sacrifice," and "the immaculate victim."

[4] Page 119.

Liturgy of St. Ambrose.

The liturgy of Milan is called after St. Ambrose. But though varying in detail, it bears marks of a common original with the Roman rite. The chief difference is that it did not adopt the alteration in the position of the Lord's Prayer made by Gregory. Ambrose, bishop of Milan (374 A.D.), makes frequent mention of the Communion service in his writings. He speaks of the psalm, the lessons, the dismissal of the catechumens and the prayers. He quotes repeatedly the words of our Lord at the institution.[1] Gaudentius of Brescia (died *c.* 484) bears similar testimony.[2] The Ambrosian form has been everywhere displaced by the Roman, excepting that it is still used in the Cathedral of Milan.

Liturgy of Africa.

The African liturgy has entirely disappeared along with the churches which once richly lined the southern shores of the Mediterranean, but were swept away by the Saracen invasion. The liturgy in question has, however, been so copiously noticed by the early writers of the African church that its order and much of its substance can be reproduced from them; and the result is found closely to correspond with the service used in Italy, from

[1] Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus "Hoc est corpus meum," etc. See Palmer, I. p. 128, and Hebert, I. 238 et seq. for other passages. Ambrose says that Christians should make their offerings, and communicate every Sunday.

[2] Ibid. and Hebert I., 424.

African liturgy an independent rite.

whence it may be presumed the faith was originally derived. The position of the Kiss of peace is the same. But the African rite differed from the Roman, and conformed to the Oriental and Gallican, in having an "invocation of the Holy Spirit." It may therefore be held to have been an independent liturgy, as indeed might have been expected from a flourishing church which steadily refused to recognize the supremacy of Rome. The following references by Palmer will show with what amplitude of detail the liturgy of Africa has been made mention of by the writers of that land :—

Notices in early writers.

Augustine (fourth century) says that about his time anthems from the Psalms were introduced into the liturgy at Carthage. Lessons from the Prophets and Epistles followed. Then came a psalm and the gospel; after which the sermon. The catechumens were dismissed, and the offertory, or reception of the oblations of the faithful, took place. Cyprian[1] and Augustine speak of the beginning of the preface, *Sursum Corda,* and the Thanksgiving, which is also referred to by Tertullian, as is likewise the singing of the hymn Tersanctus. Optatus (200 A.D.) mentions a verbal oblation for the church.[2] Cyprian speaks of prayers for the living, and Tertullian of prayer for the emperor.[3]

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[1] Cyprian (who died a martyr, 258 A.D.), writing on the Lord's Prayer, says, "Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, praefatione praemissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, *Sursum Corda;* ut dum respondet plebs, *Habemus ad Dominum;* admoneatur nihil aliud se, quam Dominum cogitare debere." Palmer, I., p. 137.

[2] "Offerre vos Deo dicitis pro Ecclesia quae una est .... in toto terrarum orbe diffusa." *Ibid.*

[3] Tertullian (died *c.* 240 A.D.) writes (ad Scapulam): "Itaque et sacrificiamus pro salute imperatoris sed Deo nostro et ipsius; sed quomodo praecepit Deus prece pura." *Ibid.* p. 138.

Notices of African liturgy in early writers.

Augustine alludes to prayer before consecration of the elements,[1] and Optatus and Fulgentius (fifth century) refer to the invocation of the Holy Spirit. Cyprian and Fulgentius speak of the mention that is made of Christ's passion and death, at every sacrifice, and at the offering of the cup.[2] The commemoration of departed saints is mentioned by Augustine, Cyprian, and Tertullian. We also read in Augustine of the breaking of the bread for distribution, accompanied by a benediction of the people. The Lord's Prayer followed, as we are told by Augustine, Optatus, and Cyprian. The Salutation and the Kiss of Peace are alluded to by Augustine, Optatus, and Tertullian.[3] Augustine also mentions an anthem sung during communion; and after communion the Thanksgiving.[4]

Evidence of early prevalence.

Such copious references to the custom of Africa, in writers going back to the beginning of the third century, are really of greater weight in evidence of the prevalence of the rite than if we held in our hands the liturgy itself.

[1] Commenting on 1 Tim. ii. 1: "Omnis, vel fere omnis, frequentat Ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici; *orationes* cum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit." *Ibid.*

[2] Cyprian, in one of his epistles, writes: "Passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus faciamus,—quotiescunque ergo calicem in commemorationem Domini et passionis offerrimus." *Ibid.* p. 139.

[3] Augustine writes: "Ideo cum dicitur *Sursum cor;* respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum;* ideo sequiter episcopus vel presbyter qui offert, et dicit cum responderit populus, *Habemus ad Dominum sursum cor; gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro,*—et vos adtestamini, *dignum et justum est* dicentes. Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii Dei,—ecce ubi est peracta sanctificatio dicimus orationem Dominicam,—Post ipsam dicitur *Pax vobiscum;* et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto."—Aug. *in die Paschae.* Palmer, I., p. 140.

[4] "Quibus peractis, et participato sancto Sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit."—Augustine, *Epist.* cxlix. *Ibid.*

IV.

Liturgies of Gaul and Spain.

Liturgies of Gaul and Spain

The liturgies of Gaul and Spain are supposed to have come to them directly from the East. In some respects they differed from all other liturgies, especially in this, that they placed the intercessory prayers before the Kiss of peace, which itself occurred early in the service. The Gallican liturgy has long been suppressed and superseded by the Roman. The Spanish (Mosarabic) has nearly suffered the same fate, being now celebrated in but one or two churches in the Peninsula. We know little of the origin of these two liturgies; though Jerome tells us that Hilary of Poictiers (died 368) "composed a book of hymns and sacraments." Spain would naturally, from its position, receive the faith from Gaul, and with it this peculiar form for the celebration of the Supper. This, Palmer concludes, "must have been at a most remote period, simply from combining the fact of the substantial identity of both (liturgies) with their circumstantial variation, and the ancient independence of the two churches."[1]

Review.

We have now gone the round of the Christian world, and seen that (besides those churches which

[1] Palmer, I., 171.

Independent liturgies for every country or Church.

celebrate the Supper without any set form of prayers) every country, and generally every main division of the Church, has at this day in use, or once possessed, a liturgy of its own traceable up to the most ancient times. The peculiarities which mark the individuality of each of these rites, can be tracked back to the fifth, fourth, and even the third century. Yet the form, and (however overlaid and disfigured by superstition) the general substance are in them all alike.

Common features point to common origin.

A well qualified and intelligent witness tells us that a comparative study of the liturgies enables us to "realize the marvellous *substantial* identity of the Eastern and Western liturgies, which is the strongest argument for their being ultimately derived from one common fountain-head."[1] Liturgies which had crystallized into a fixed form at an early age, must have existed in materially like shape long before. They could not have become thus stereotyped but by a gradual and tenacious prescription. Further, the same process was taking place independently in every province. The common features recognized in the various liturgies, when thus grown into maturity, point conclusively to a common origin. Variety proves separate existence and independent growth; similarity no less proves one parentage. When we see strong

[1] Hammond, p. 25.

likeness pervade a household, we naturally trace it to a common sire. So here

> Facies non omnibus una,
> Nec diversa tamen, qualis decet esse sororum.

The common source can be none other than the Institution on the paschal eve.

How liturgies would naturally assume fixed form.

Assuming such to have been the case, the manner in which the various liturgies grew up must have been something in this way. The apostles and missionaries of the faith, as they passed from land to land and planted churches, would establish in each the sacred rite to be observed by the disciples, as oft as they did it, in remembrance of the Master, and His bidding them so to do. The mode in which the Supper was kept by the disciples at Jerusalem, would naturally be the normal form in which it was everywhere observed. As the religion spread throughout the nations, the parts of the ceremony deemed essential would no doubt be these; —Offerings by the faithful, to furnish forth withal the simple Supper; Thanksgiving; Hymn of Praise; Prayer and Benediction of the elements; Breaking the bread, after the example of Jesus, and pouring out the wine likewise; with Recitation of the Master's words as warrant for the rite; then Partaking of the same. Such, we may presume, would be common to all, although the order of the parts, and some of the parts them-

Manner in which liturgies became fixed.

selves, might, and most probably would, differ in the practice of independent communities far separated from one another. Certain other forms —as the Kiss of Peace and the hymn Tersanctus, the Thanksgiving, with prayer for the Church and all estates of men, etc.,—seem also to have been universal; others again, as "the Holy to the holy," the psalm *O taste and see*, belong exclusively to the Eastern and Gallican churches, while the frequent directions of the deacons are peculiar to the Alexandrian. In course of time, the forms thus more or less fixed would be committed to writing, and by degrees added to. And so in the natural order of things would grow up the liturgies as we find them later on in actual use.

Illustrated by a prayer in the *Epistle of Clement* of Rome.

In his prefatory remarks to the *Epistle of Clement*, Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, shows the presumptive course by which, as here supposed, free expression in prayer, and unfixed though conventional forms of speech in Christian worship, became transformed into liturgies stereotyped and recorded. At the close of the epistle, written by the Church of Rome to the brethren at Corinth about 95 A.D., occurs a prayer of considerable length, in which there are many phrases, and indeed whole sentences, which correspond with what we find in the Oriental liturgies. In considering what conclusions may be drawn from this resemblance, the Bishop thus states "the inference

which this prayer of St. Clement suggests to his own mind:"—

"There was at this time no authoritative written liturgy in use in the Church of Rome; but the prayers were modified at the discretion of the officiating minister. Under the dictation of habit and experience, however, these prayers were gradually assuming a fixed form. . . A more or less definite order in the petitions, a greater or less constancy in the individual expressions, was already perceptible. As the chief Pastor of the Roman Church would be the main instrument in thus moulding the liturgy, the prayers, without actually being written down, would assume in his mind a fixity as time went on. When, therefore, at the close of the epistle, he asks his readers to fall on their knees, and lay down their jealousies and disputes at the footstool of grace, his language naturally runs into those antithetical forms and measured cadences which his ministrations in the Church had rendered habitual with him when dealing with such a subject. The explanation seems to suit the facts. . . The prayer is not given as a quotation from an acknowledged document, but as an immediate outpouring of the heart; and yet it has all the appearance of a fixed form. This solution accords moreover with the notices which we find elsewhere respecting the liturgy of the early Church, which seem to point to forms of prayer more or less fluctuating even at a later date than this."[1]

Process quickened by notion of priestly energy at consecration

In this way, or in some such similar way, the services growing out of our Lord's institution of the Supper, may reasonably be supposed to have taken shape. And the literal rendering by peoples just emerged from heathenism, and

[1] In proof, Dr. Lightfoot quotes the passage in which Justin Martyr speaks of the President offering up prayers and thanksgiving "to the best of his ability" *ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ*. And so also in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, the prophets are allowed to give thanks "as much as they desire." See Lightfoot's *St. Clement of Rome*, pp., 269-295.

Formation of liturgies.

by others yet clinging to the Jewish altar, of the words *This is My body*, as in the second and third centuries it gained ground, would, no doubt quicken the process. The notion that an awful energy proceeded from the words and acts of the clergy quickening the elements, would make it all the more incumbent that the service should be accurate and complete. A simple rite, instituted by Jesus as the tender memorial of His dying love, came thus by a marvellous transformation to be regarded by the church at large as "a most dread and fearful mystery."[1] And so we find that by the third or fourth century, the Supper was celebrated throughout Christendom by means of set forms and recorded liturgies.

The Gospel narrative accounts for the facts.

Now, on a review of all this, it must be admitted that the institution by our Saviour, as narrated in the Gospels, satisfactorily accounts for the known facts; that is, they account for the universal observance of the rite as we see it at the present day celebrated by means of liturgies the continuity of which can be traced back to early times; for the identity of each separate liturgy in its essential form and order as handed down from age to age; and for the circumstance that the several liturgies, though varying in detail in different lands and churches, and therefore independent of each other, do yet in the main substantially agree in that

[1] Hebert, I., 318, et passim.

which they express. They run in lines distinct and parallel far back into remote antiquity, and yet they all at last converge upon a common point which must have been their fountain-head. Accept the institution by our Saviour as that point, and the whole becomes consistent and intelligible. The universal usage flows forth naturally from the Master's command, "to do this as oft as they did it in remembrance of Him." In its general outline the rite is common to all; yet as practised in independent Patriarchates the differences in detail prove the service of each to possess a distinct individuality. Thus the several rites, radiating from the Institution as from a common centre, by separate pathways of their own, reach down each of them a separate witness to the present day.

Gospel narrative accounts for the facts.

So much, then, for the evidence of liturgies. But we have other evidence than that of liturgies, which it may be said do not take us with certainty back further than the fourth century. The early Christian writers refer frequently to the Lord's Supper as in constant and universal observance; and as such we shall call them to witness. Much of their evidence has already been quoted. It is moreover unnecessary —thanks to the testimony of the liturgies themselves—to begin lower down than the fourth

Notices of Supper in early writers.

century, one might have said even than the third.[1]

Writers of the fourth century.

Authors of the Fourth Century. *Eusebius* (of Alexandria[2]), *Philo*, a bishop in Crete, and *Theodore*, bishop in Cilicia, quote the words of institution; the first notices the Tersanctus, invocation, etc., and speaks of the "Lord's Day" as the day for celebration of the Supper; and the last dwells on the text "as oft as ye eat," as a reason for frequency and continuity in observance of the rite; *Philo* also quotes 1 Cor. xi. 28. *Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus on the Euphrates, in addition to frequent notices of the same kind, has a lengthened passage in elucidation of St. Paul's teaching, 1 Cor. xi. 20, et seq., regarding the Supper. *Macarius*, *Chrysostom*, *Epiphanius*, *Ambrose*, the two *Gregories*, *Basil*, *Cyril*, *Hilary*, and *Athanasius*, some of whom are very rich and full in their incidental notices of the Supper, have been all more or less already quoted from. *Palladius* of Helenopolis dwells on the frequent communion of monks. *Didymus* of Alexandria (translated by Jerome), mentions especially the great celebration at Easter. *Aurelius Clemens*, in a Latin ode, refers to the dedicated elements. *Rufinus* quotes the narrative of insti-

[1] Dr. Hebert's book (quoted at the beginning) gives the authorities of the early Christian writers copiously, both in the original and with an English translation.

[2] There is some doubt about his See, but not about his writings, which are quoted by early authors.

tution in the Gospels and Corinthians, to illustrate the "table" spoken of in Psalm xxiii. 5. *Cæsarius*, brother of Gregory Nazianzen, and physician to the Emperor, notices the words of institution, and also 1 Cor. xi. 28.

Notices of Supper in writings of third century.

Ascending now to the *Third Century*, I have already quoted *Dionysius*, *Cyprian* and *Origen*, in reference to the frequent illustrations in their writings of the Communion Service as it obtained in their day. *Cornelius*, bishop of Rome, A.D. 262, speaks of difficulty in the open celebration of the communion, even in the crypts, because of the persecutions of the time. *Pontianus*, *Hippolytus*, and *Fabian*, who suffered martyrdom about the middle of the third century, have notices of the Supper. Hippolytus wrote a treatise on the theme, Whether a man should communicate daily or at stated seasons. In the fragment on "Wisdom builded for herself a house," he speaks of the Supper as the furnishing forth of her table in memory of Christ's sacrifice.[1]

Writers of second century.

Notwithstanding that there are but few remains of Christian writers of the *Second* century, while as yet "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble were called," we still have

[1] The fragment is on Prov. ix. In reference to verse 2, "*She hath also furnished her table*, . . . His precious and undefiled body and blood, which are celebrated on the mystical and divine table, day by day, being offered in memory of that, the first and ever-memorable, table of the mystical Divine Supper." **Hebert, L, p. 111.**

Writers of second century.

very sufficient evidence of the observance of the Supper at this early period. *Tertullian* (born *circa* 160), has been already quoted in reference to the liturgy of Africa. He makes often reference to the Supper, the Bread, and the Cup, and our Saviour's words at institution.[1] *Clement* of Alexandria (died *c.* 215) does the same, and also quotes the teaching of Paul in 1 Cor. xi.[2] *Theophilus,* patriarch of Antioch (died *c.* 181), speaks of the "bloodless sacrifice,"—a phrase which by this time had come into use for the Supper.[3] *Irenæus,* bishop of Lyons (born A.D. *c.* 130,—he was the pupil of Polycarp, the disciple of John), quotes the words of institution, says that after consecration, the elements "become the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ," and makes frequent references, all implying the Supper to have been in common use.[4]

Evidence of Justin Martyr.

Justin Martyr (died 163), in his *Apology,* thus explains the rite. He first describes how the convert is baptized, and then taken to the assembly, where prayers are offered up by the faithful

[1] Ibid. pp. 68, et seq. [2] Hebert, I., pp. 61, et seq.
[3] Ibid. p. 49.

[4] Arguing against those who did not allow that the believer shared in the nourishing power of the Lord's Supper, he says: "Our opinion is in symphony with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist establishes this opinion. We offer, indeed, His own unto Him, carefully announcing communion and oneness, and confessing the raising up of the flesh and of the Spirit,' etc. Hebert, I., p. 53. See also several passages to similar effect, pp. 51, et seqr.

for themselves, and for all estates; then the kiss of peace; after that the presiding minister takes bread and wine into his hands, and offers up thanksgiving at great length. Then the deacons distribute the same among the people, the baptized alone partaking. He tells us that the Christians whether in towns or in the country, assembled themselves together on the first day of the week for worship, and again describes the administration of the Eucharist after the sermon.[1] Elsewhere, he

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"Now when the president hath given thanks, and all the people have cried out in assent, those that amongst us are called *Deacons* give to each one of them that are present to receive of the bread, for which thanksgiving hath been offered, and of the wine and water; and (of it) they carry away for those that are absent. And this same food is with us called the *Eucharist* (thanksgiving), of which none is allowed to partake, saving him that believeth the things taught by us to be true, and hath received baptism. . . . (Then, after stating that the elements are first, common food, but become by prayer the body and blood of Christ, he proceeds.) For the Apostles in their records called the Gospels, have so delivered this their commission, that 'Jesus having taken bread and given thanks said, *Do ye this in remembrance of Me,—the same is My body.* And so likewise taking the cup, and having given thanks, He said, *This is My blood,*' . . .

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Justin Martyr.

speaks of "the Eucharist of the bread and the cup," as "celebrated by Christians *in every part of the earth.*" Here, then, we have evidence of the universal observance of the Supper by a witness who lived in the middle of the second century, —within a hundred years from the death of Christ; an observance which by presumption must have prevailed widely abroad long before the time of Justin Martyr.[1]

Letter of Pliny to the emperor.

Apart from Christian writings we find a suggestive description of early Christian worship in a despatch which Pliny, when Governor in Asia Minor, A.D. 112, wrote to the emperor Trajan. Perplexed at the spread of this "contagious superstition," and at a loss how to treat its confessors, Pliny sought for instructions from his Master; and in the course of his letter thus describes the manner in which the Christians worshipped. They were wont, he says, to come together before daylight on a stated day (no doubt meaning Sunday), sing

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that dwell in the cities or in the country, at which the records of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets are read, and a sermon," etc. (Then follows another account as before of the administration of the Supper.)

[1] I have not noticed the frequent and detailed mention of the Supper in the Epistles of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan, before, not later than, 117 A.D.), because they occur in the longer form of those letters, the genuineness of which has been called in question. But even so, their antiquity must be very great, and the evidence they present is not, therefore, to be overlooked.

antiphonally a hymn "to Christ as to (a) God," and pledge themselves to observe the moral law. "Then after they had separated they would come again together to a meal, which they ate in common, but without disorder." This is just the sort of account which we might expect a Roman governor to give his royal master of the Sunday worship and celebration of the Lord's Supper, — especially when administered, as in early times it used to be, in connection with the *Agapae*, or Feasts of Christian friendship.

"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles."

An important document has lately been brought to light, of the great antiquity of which there can be no doubt, by Bryennius, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. It is called "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and is published in the work of that learned prelate quoted at the beginning of this Tract. "*The Teaching*" contains a section on the observance of the Lord's Supper. The instructions are of the plainest kind. A brief and simple exemplar is given of Thanksgiving, first for the cup, and then for the bread—of which the baptized only are to partake. To be used again after all have communicated, there is given a second form of thanksgiving, and a prayer for the Church. Further on, it is directed that when the disciples come together on the Lord's Day, they are to break bread and give thanks. The worshippers are cautioned that if there should be any dif-

Observance of Lord's Supper.

Caution to worshippers.

ferences among them, these should first be composed, lest the sacrifice be profaned, "for the Lord hath said, In every place, and at all times, there shall be offered unto Me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My name wonderful among the Gentiles." The order of the service, though in general outline fixed, was evidently still free in its details, for the "prophets" are expressly allowed to give thanks at their discretion. Bryennius places the age of this remarkable composition between A.D. 120 and 160; but Bishop Lightfoot, a still more competent authority, puts it from internal evidence earlier, namely from A.D. 80 to 120. I quote a few sentences from this precious relic:—

"Teaching of the Apostles."

Extract from it.

Chapter ix. As concerns the Eucharist, celebrate it (lit. give thanks) thus: first for the Cup, "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Christ, Thy servant. To Thee be glory for ever." And for the broken (bread) thus: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou has brought to us through Jesus Christ Thy servant. To Thee be glory for ever. As the (grains of) this broken bread were scattered over the mountains, and being brought together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom. For Thine is the glory, etc."

Chap. x. After being satisfied, give thanks thus: "We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast enshrined in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality which Thou hast made known to us by Thy servant Jesus Christ. . . . Thou hast imparted to men spiritual food and drink, and life eternal through Thy servant. Remember, Lord, Thy Church to deliver her from all evil, and perfect her in Thy love. . . . Hosanna to the Son of David! If any be holy, let him

come ; if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha, Amen." And let the prophets give thanks as much as they wish. "Teaching of the Apostles."

Chap. xiv. On the Lord's Day, having come together, break bread and give thanks, having confessed your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure. Let none who hath a difference with his fellow come together with you, until that they are reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned ; for this is that which was spoken by the Lord :—"In every place and time, offer unto Me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the nations."[1]

The simpler the rite the higher we go.

In passing, I would call attention to the fact brought to light by these extracts from Justin Martyr, and the *Teaching of the Apostles*, that the higher we ascend, the simpler do we find that the notices of the Supper become. This is natural, and accords with the expectation we should otherwise have formed ; for close to the fountain-head, the deteriorating tendencies of human nature towards will-worship and adoration of material objects, had not as yet got time to foul the channel. It is right and proper that we should find the stream run pure and clear, the nearer we approach the spring.

Early observance of Supper in connection with Paschal feast.

There is still another illustration of the widespread observance of the Lord's Supper, at the remotest age, in the annual celebration of the Paschal feast. A variety of practice arose very early between the East and West as to the proper date for that great festival. The Eastern

[1] The passages bearing on the Supper are quoted in the original by *Swainson*, pp. xlv-lii. The word above translated "Servant" (παις) may equally be *Child* or *Son*.

The Paschal feast.

church followed the Jewish computation, without regard to the day of the week. The Western, kept the anniversary of the Resurrection on the first day of the week, and observed the Paschal feast on the evening but one preceding it.[1] To arrange the difference, we learn from Irenæus that Polycarp visited Rome about the year 150 A.D.; but the conference, though friendly, was not successful; and it was not without hot and protracted controversy that the East yielded, and the custom of the West became universal. The fact, however, of the dispute itself, and of the deputation of Polycarp to compose it, and this already within little more than one hundred years of the death of Christ, proves the general observance of the yearly festival at that time, and by implication its established usage by a prescription even then of long standing.

Notices of Supper in Corinthians and Acts.

We can ascend one stage yet higher. Within twenty or thirty years of the assumed origin, we find Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians (the authenticity of which is unchallenged by any competent critic), using words which signify that the reception of the bread and the cup were in general and recognised practice as the "communion of the body and blood of Christ."[2] Further, in the same epistle, he chides the church of Corinth for abuses which had already sprung up in the manner

[1] Waddington's *Church History*, chap. I.
[2] 1 Cor. x. 26.

of celebrating the Supper, and recalls their attention to the solemn object of the same as set forth in the words of the Founder of it.[1] Closer still to the fountain-head, the breaking of bread, in presumed association with the ordinance, is repeatedly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. At first this seems to have taken place daily; later on, upon the first day of the week. A passage in the 20th of Acts describes, in an altogether incidental and natural way, what appears to have been the celebration of the Supper by the Church of Ephesus;—"upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow;"—a solemn farewell service, meetly graced with the memorials of their Saviour's dying love.

The Acts of the Apostles.

Having thus reached the apostolic age, we may now turn back, and briefly review the evidence. In the first place, we have seen that the liturgies of various lands carry us back in a tangible form to the fifth century, and in one case even to the fourth. Professing all to be in pursuance of the Saviour's last command, and substantially agreeing in their general outline, they vary in detail; thus bearing in their front the evidence at once of a common truth, and of the independence of the

Review of the evidence.

[1] Ibid. xi. 20, et seq.

Review.

several channels through which it has been from age to age by the maintenance of the rite conveyed. They are, in short, convergent lines all radiating from one centre. Earlier than the liturgies, we have the testimony of Christian writers. Evidence has been given—and it might have been multiplied indefinitely,—of the observance of the Supper, in passages from authors in various lands, of the third and fourth centuries. In the second century, though the authors are few and far between, we still have indubitable proof of the existence of the rite; and the statements in the Acts and Corinthians carry us within but a few years of the assumed original. Observed at first with greater frequency, the Supper came in practice to be held by the Christians on the first day of the week; and there was also, both in the East and in the West, a solemn commemoration of it on the great Anniversary of the Paschal feast. Thus the ordinance has been handed down in continuous succession of acts, both weekly and annual,—a double chain in either line unbroken. Back to the first century, not a link in this chain is wanting.

The facts accounted for by the institution.

Now these facts are in absolute accord with the assumed cause, and that cause is adequate to account for them. For the last request of the Saviour, that His disciples should remember Him, in a rite so simple, so touching, and one so easy of observance, would be by them religiously obeyed.

And so, wherever companies of believers were gathered together from out of the Jewish people and the heathen, the Supper would be established amongst them as a standing ordinance of worship, —the seal and badge of their faith, and would thus be handed down from generation to generation. Therefore that which, upon the assumption, was *à priori* probable, we find actually to have come to pass. Moreover, the rite as introduced into each land, while agreeing with all others in essential points, might well vary in order and detail. But the local custom once established would there prevail, become fixed, and finally be embodied in a recorded form. Hence the liturgies which we see to the present day, answering—each for itself, and all combinedly, — to just such an origin as we have here supposed. Once more, the facts are again in absolute accord with the assumed cause, and that cause adequate to account for them every one.

Facts accounted for by Gospel narrative.

But this is not all. The assumed cause not only accounts for the phenomena. No other adequate cause exists; no other has, so far as I am aware, even been suggested. Indeed it would be difficult to conceive of such.[1] For the source of a custom

No other cause adequate to account for them.

[1] I have since met such a suggestion. The writer of *The English Life of Jesus*, p. 279, referring to St. Paul's declaration, 1 Cor. xi. 2, 3, says :—"His vision *may be* (sic) the sole source of the modern Eucharist." But the revelation which Paul "received of the Lord," taken by itself alone, altogether fails

No other cause adequate.

which, from the first appearance of Christianity, prevailed thus universally, must have had its birth coeval with that of the Faith itself. There is absolutely no place whatever for such source, but at the very time of the Institution as described in the Gospels, or immediately after. The Acts of the Apostles gives an account of the planting of the churches which is not only consistent with itself, but corresponds so evidently with the facts disclosed to view by the rising curtain of history, that, at any rate in its general outlines, it cannot but be accepted, Now, taking this account, or indeed any other, of the rapid planting of churches everywhere, and these churches all practising the same rite,—there will be found no point of time but the very earliest, at which the cause originating the Supper must be sought.

Is it, then, in any wise possible that a tale could have been invented such as, when palmed off upon

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to account for the phenomena of "the modern Eucharist" (whatever that may mean) or for the universal observance of the rite in ancient times. Shortly after his conversion, Paul returned to Jerusalem; and there and elsewhere met those who (as implied in his own account) sat with the Lord at the table. Acts ix. 26–30; Gal. i. and ii. Is it conceivable that he could have propagated a tale of things unknown to the parties themselves concerned in the feast, and inconsistent with facts fresh in the memory of all; or that, if he could have done this, the tale would have at all gained currency? Besides, the Lord's Supper took root all over the world in places which Paul never visited, and by Apostles who had themselves sat at the first Supper. The hypothesis is utterly untenable.

the disciples, would have produced the result to be explained,—that is, the universal observance of the Supper. Could the scene have been fabricated, and the command trumped up, and all this within the limit of time just shown to be a condition obligatory? There is not anywhere traceable the remotest touch of forgery, such as in that case must surely have betrayed itself. Where, again, was the motive for such a fiction? According to the Gospel narrative, the motive of the Founder, to perpetuate, that is, a memorial of His self-sacrificing love, and its propitiatory end, is sufficient and intelligible. Can any other motive for the Institution even be imagined? It has been shown at the outset, that, assuming the occasion of the Supper to have been that which is described by the Evangelists, there is nothing unlikely in the event itself; but that, on any other assumption, the ideas involved are so strained and unnatural, so violently improbable, as to be, one may say, almost beyond the reach of fiction. Again, in no early quarter do we see the symptom of any tendency to magnify and exalt the rite, or to promote its currency. The Gospel narrative apart, we do not even find it anywhere enjoined as a condition of Christian fellowship. Baptism is so, but not the Lord's Supper. The parting behest of Jesus is given by three of the Evangelists with touching simplicity, indeed, but without any special urgency

Nor is any other adequate cause supposable.

Motive wanting for invention.

or emphasis, just in the natural course of the narrative. By the fourth it is not even mentioned.[1] Nor, excepting the notices in Corinthians (by which time it is evident that the Supper was already in full observance), is the rite anywhere enjoined. Throughout the Epistles, the Acts, and Revelation, so far from any stress being laid upon the ordinance, it is hardly even alluded to. All this is inconsistent with the hypothesis of invention with a purpose; without a purpose, invention hardly enters into the range of reasonable conjecture.

No other cause adequate.

If, then, the reader shall have agreed that the evangelical narrative is adequate to account for the prevalence of the Lord's Supper, he will equally agree that no other cause can well be imagined adequate to produce the same result.

The institution thus established on certain basis.

We are, therefore, enabled to conclude that the phenomena are evidence of the assumed cause. Without that cause they could not have come into existence. The world-wide observance of the rite traceable from age to age back to the earliest time, in distinct and cumulative lines, gives to the institution itself an historical reality, and establishes on the surest basis the narrative of the Evangelists.

[1] Even if it should be held (spite of time and place, and v. 63) that the passage in John vi. 48-58 refers proleptically to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, yet the absence of all notice of the Institution in the narrative, chaps. xiii. xvii. sufficiently proves the position here asserted, namely, the absence of pressure to introduce the rite.

V.

Important Issues from the Lord's Supper.

Corollaries deducible from the Supper.

Before closing, I notice a few of the important corollaries issuing from this conclusion. The observance of the Supper in pursuance of its institution by our Saviour on the paschal eve, is evidence of the violent death of Jesus. Otherwise the establishment of an ordinance commemorative of the same would be unmeaning, and at variance with the convictions of those who had the best means of knowing the fact, and who proved their honesty by the sacrifices which they made in the publication of the same. It was further a palpable rebuke of such as denied Christ Jesus having come "in the flesh,"[1] and of the Gnostic sects that held the vain conceit of something else than His incarnate body having been nailed to the cross.[2] It proves also the belief of the disciples in the Resurrection. During the eclipse of their hopes in the short interval that elapsed, they could but say "we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel; and beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done." Is it conceivable that the

[1] 1 John ix. 2, 3.

[2] A conceit taken up by Mahomet. See note in Sale's Coran on *Sura* III. 53, and also *Sura*, IV. 156.

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Corollaries from the Supper.

disciples would all have joined immediately after in setting up this ordinance, had not the promise of His rising again the third day in their knowledge come to pass. Further, the custom of celebration on the first day of the week, and also on the great Anniversary of the Resurrection, points to the same conclusion. We might say further that it is evidence of their belief in the Ascension, for, by keeping the Supper, they showed forth His death "till He come;"—in accord with the expectation, that, as He was taken up into heaven He "shall so come in like manner."[1] Yet, once again, it is certainly evidence that the disciples regarded the death of Jesus as voluntarily undergone; His body broken, and blood shed "for many for the remission of sins;" "His life given a ransom for many," who are "redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot,"—"the propitiation for the sins of the whole world."[2] The whole Gospel, in fact, is embodied in the Supper; it is proclaimed by the worshippers every time they come together to partake thereof; and it is established firm and fresh from age to age by its perpetual celebration.

The Supper an evidence of Christ's passion.

Here, then, is irrefragable evidence of Christ's passion. A learned apologist,[3] in reference to the

[1] Acts i. 11.

[2] Matthew xx. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 6; 1 Pet. i. 19; 1 John ii. 2.

[3] Dr. Christlieb of Bonn.

fact that the Resurrection was from the beginning regarded by the disciples of Christ as having taken place on the third day, says: "We find in the Christian observance of Sunday a liturgical fruit of the belief, and one which can be proved to have been extant as early as the Apostolical age." This is true. But with even greater certainty may we say, that in the Lord's Supper we have "a liturgical fruit" of the belief in the death of Christ; and in its observance on "the Lord's day," of the belief at once of His Death and Resurrection,—reaching back to a period within very sight of the events themselves.

The evidence of the Supper world-wide.

Richly fraught as the Supper of the Lord is with blessing to the worthy communicant, its value further as an abiding witness to the faith is too readily overlooked. For it is speaking ever as a witness in every land. Like the firmament on high, there is no speech nor language where its voice is not heard; its line is gone out through all the earth, and its words to the end of the world. The so-called "host"[1] is nowhere lifted up, but—spite of all errors of the prostrate votaries—it may be pointed to as a continuing witness of the passion of the Saviour. The "Prayer of consecration," wherever it is offered before the Table of the Lord, bears testimony as "a perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again,"—an ordinance kept "in

[1] Sacrificial victim.

Testimony of the Supper world-wide.

remembrance of His death and passion." And when His followers, even without the use of any liturgy, gather around the Table, and at the simple recital of the Master's acts and words, eat this bread, and drink this cup, they also do show forth the Lord's death till He come —each Communicant a living link in the unbroken succession of witnesses stretching back to the little company which sat with Jesus at the Last Supper in the guest-chamber at Jerusalem. Indeed, we may say that no other fact in ancient history at all has any evidence of like continuity to sustain it, such as the Gospel narrative of the Supper has.

And conclusive.

The life and death of Jesus are not, as some would tell us, a myth and a legend, but do rest upon the solid ground-work of substantial evidence.

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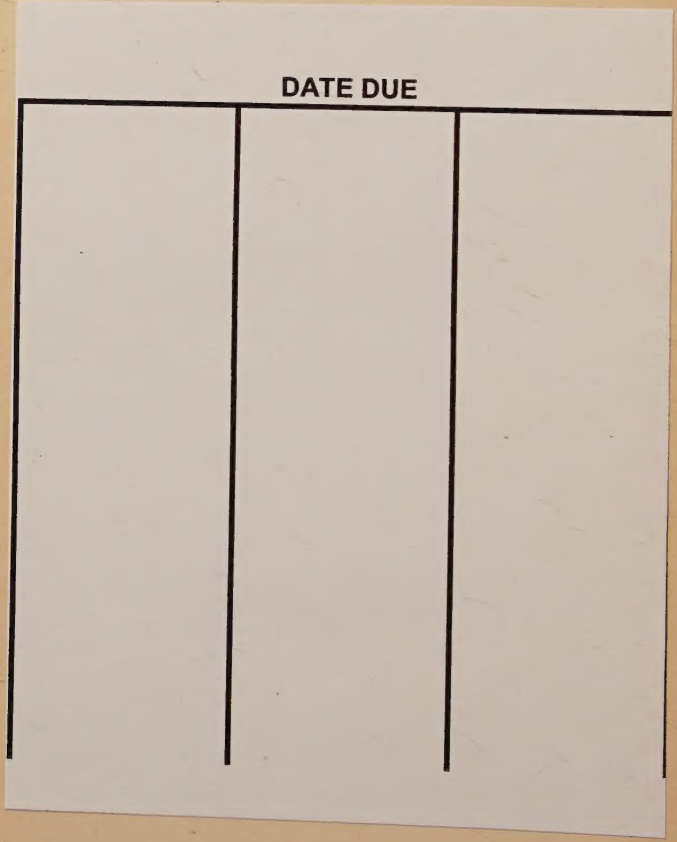

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